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THE BEAST CAPITALISM

IT SHOWS ITS CLOVEN HOOF IN RICHMOND, VA.

Street Car Company, Backed Up by Every Agency of Public Authority, Arrogantly Asserts Power Over Strikers—The Pure and Simple Union an Impotent Weapon in Such Warfare.

(Special to The Daily and Weekly People.)

Richmond, Va., July 25.—The strike of pers levying an assessment on the whole the street car men is still unsettled, but the fact becomes more apparent daily that the strikers must soon give up the struggle. It is the old, old story of the confiding workingmen being duped by the pure-and-simple leaders of the trade union. Before the strike began the Richmond carmen were told that they would receive strike benefits of $5 per week from the headquarters of their International Union. Ut to this time practically nothing has been received in the way of strike benefits (the total sum, I am informed by one of the strikers, is less than $3 per man). Three dollars in five weeks! Such is the gold-brick game of the fakirs.

The first week of the strike the newspapers, who had not begun to show their hands as they have done since, published stories of how millions of dollars could be raised for the strikers by Gommembership of the A. F. of L. The result was that these poor fellows believed implicitly that they were bound to win by having the A. F. of L. treasury behinds them and public sympathy lending moral support.

Of course, some money has been raised locally (about $2500 one of the men told me yesterday). As the fakirs boast that there are forty unions in Richmond (a lying claim by 50 per cent!), with a total membership of 9000, and considering further that at least half of the above sum was contributed by persons not connected with the unions, an idea can be gained of the miserable financial support that is being accorded the strikers by their local fellow unionists.

In spite of this great discouragement, the men are sticking together remarkably well. For a month not a man out of 600 went back to work. During the past week, however, there have been about thirty desertions from the ranks, and if the long-promised money from international headquarters does not come on Saturday there is sure to be a stampede to return to work. In the meantime the street car company has employed about 300 men and is giving a fairly good service on the main lines. Two of the city lines have not yet been operated, and all efforts to force the City Council to exercise its authority by making the company fulfill the provisions of its charter have proven futile. The City Council has declared that it has no right to interfere in the dispute; that the affair is one between the Gould corporation and its employees, and that the city government must keep hands off so far as franchise provisions are concerned.

But the city government is not keeping hands off when it comes to dealing with strikers and strike sympathizers. The street car company owns the courts, the police department, the fire department—everything. For the most trifling cause mere children have had outrageous fines imposed upon them. Innocent men have been accused of all manner of crimes and bail refused until they had spent nights in prison. The capitalist papers, ever inciting to anarchy, have spared no effort to forment riot and bloodshed. When law-abiding men were arrested, and before any opportunity of a hearing was afforded them, these vile sheets have paraded the names of honest workingmen in capital letters, giving age, height, weight, etc., just as if they were fugitives from justice charged with murder.

The police board has instituted a reign of terror among the police force by dismissing from the service or otherwise punishing every officer who did not act as the street car company's henchman. Many of the police were undoubtedly in sympathy with the strikers and showed no disposition to be unduly officious. But they are suffering for their inaction now.

The board of fire commissioners has also been showing its hand. A few Sundays ago one of the firemen, while off duty and on an excursion train fifty miles from Richmond, criticised in conversation the mayor for calling out the troops unnecessarily. A Republican politician overheard what was said and reported the matter to the board of fire commissioners, who met a few days ago and fined the fireman $100, to be paid in monthly installments of $20. Two other firemen for expressing their sentiments on the strike were fined $20 and $10 respectively.

The grand jury in Manchester is investigating the killing of Luther Taylor by the militia, but, judging from the charge delivered by the judge at Hastings yesterday, the jury will find no indictment and the murder of this workingman will go unpunished.

The street car company has had several dastardly plots, and in one case managed to entrap some unwary ones into their net; but the capitalist press refuses to publish the truth, and endeavors to inflame public sentiment against the strikers.

The last of the militia was withdrawn yesterday, and quietness reigns at present. Each day sees an increase in patronage of the cars. That it is now "up to" the strikers to give up the fight seems only too true. When they do surrender it will be unconditionally. The company, so far from granting any concession, is showing its vindictiveness in many ways. It has abolished the nine-hour day, which the men secured as the result of a strike a year ago, and has adopted the old plan of twelve hours a day, thus dispensing with one-fourth of its former number of employees.

There seems to be no ray of hope to dispell the gloom. If ever capitalism asserted its power with arrogance and gross indecency it has done so in this city during the past six weeks. It has been a revelation to those of us who understood and recognized the beast.

The constitutional convention has disfranchised so large a portion of the working class that office-holders find it unnecessary to exercise policy lest they meet political defeat in the future at the hands of the working class.

It is to the S. L. P. that the workers will be forced to look in the near future. But it is indeed difficult, under the circumstances, to lead the average workingman to see that there is any hope for escape from his present surroundings.

Alex B. McCulloch.

MODERN DISTRIBUTION.

It Is Becoming Closely Linked With Production.

Our readers in this city, in fact in any large city, cannot have failed to notice the remarkable development that has taken place in the business of retailing in the last few years. Keeping pace with this development is the continually increasing number of small stores which bear the sign: To Let—the eloquent obituary of the small shopkeepers.

In one of its advertisements, a great department store here gives some facts that demonstrate why it is the small retailer is being driven from off the planet by the wholesale.

The store in question has twenty-four acres of floor space. This space, if reduced to the size of the ordinary shop, would suffice to give a frontage equal to the distance from 18th street to 125th street, with a depth of fifty feet all the way!

The material used in the construction of the building would make a respectable sized town. Besides thirty-three elevators there are in the structure four moving stairways, with an aggregate carrying capacity of 40,000 person an hour. Every convenience that can facilitate the business and displace labor has been installed, so that in this immense concern there are but 4,000 employees, and the majority of department store employees, as is well known, are women and children.

As the advertisement states the history of the store reads like a chapter from the Arabian Nights. When the humble beginning was made forty-four years ago the first day's sales amounted to $11.06.

In considering the development of the department store, there is one feature of it that is generally overlooked and this feature the advertisement we mention brings to the fore: The trustification of industry leads naturally to the trustification of retailing and that under the one and same concern. The advertisement states that the concerns owns its own "feeders" thus eliminating the middle man and making it possible to reduce the profit to a slender margin. Here are some of the "feeders" it owns:

"A glassware factory in Bohemia.

"A cut glass factory in New York.

"A pottery works at Rudolstadt.

"A porcelain works at Carlsbad.

"A china works at Limoges.

"A china works in New York.

"A handkerchief factory at Belfast.

"A shirt factory at Poughkeepsie.

"Muslin underwear factories in New York, Brooklyn and Carlstadt.

"A silk waist and skirt factory in New York.

"A mattress factory in New York.

"A candy factory in New York.

"A baking powder factory in New York.

"A harness factory in New York.

"A chemical laboratory in New York, where over fifty articles are manufaactured."

Is it any wonder that the little retailer is disappearing. Soon the trustification process will combine all the big stores until we shall see only a few located in various parts of a great city like New York, and at some centraal point in each county. They will all belong to the one combine and will do the distributing of all articles of general consumption as easily as the post office distributes letters.

When Socialism steps in it will find many things ready for it. The capitalists are building better than they know. All that we will have to do in the no distant future will be to give them the bounce.

THE S. L. P. MESSAGE

Prison Cells Nor Rock Piles Have No Terrors for Our Brave Agitators.

(Special to The Daily and Weekly People.)

Victor, Colo., July 17.—The mountains of Colorado are fast becoming a favorite resort for the idlers of society. Some come here to recuperate after lives of debauchery, others come because of the almost ideal conditions of climate which make life so enjoyable. In Colorado Springs these members of the useless set live amidst wealth and splendor equal to anything elsewhere. A few miles north of Colorado City is Manitou Springs. It is a beautiful spot, and bubbling over with the laughter of the children of the rich as they ride their burros up the mountain side to the Cave of the Winds, the Garden of the Gods and Pike's Peak.

It was into this beautiful region of the Rocky Mountains that I was sent on an agitation tour of two weeks by the S. E. C. of Colorado, S. L. P. What under the sun could an agitator do there you may wonder; but let me now give you the rest of the picture. There are spots here where the scenery is marred by the black smoke of such places as the Portland Mills, which we can see from Victor. Then again you will come across what once were beautiful streams of water, now polluted by the poisonous refuse from the ores, which is emptied into these mountain streams as the easiest way to get rid of it.

Well, these are signs that wage-slaves are here. We have met many of them bearing the signs of havoc on their bodies, showing that while the capitalist has no regard for Nature's beauties when his interest is concerned, neither has he any regard for his fellow being, the wage worker. I never looked into faces having eyes so sunken nor upon forms more emaciated than can be seen among these wage-slaves, who toil twelve hours a day and who are now battling for eight hours. What to them are the scenery and the climate? A mockery, that is all. And the children; they are like working-class children everywhere—deprived of their birthright, the joys of childhood.

After I had held two or three meetings in Victor the public authorities tried to put an end to the meetings by harrassing us. I was made to move from one place to another. Getting tired of this, I stood my ground and was arrested. This was on the 26th of June. The next morning Chief of Police King and Judge Hammond, who represent the dignity of capitalist law here, sat upon the victim. The judge, with great effort at solemnity—hoping to fill me with awe, I suppose—said to me: "You, sir, are charged with speaking to an unlawful assemblage on the street. Are you guilty or not?" I started to tell the august judge that it was not a question of guilty or not guilty; that I had merely been acting within my rights as a citizen. I was fined $25 and costs, and, refusing to pay, was thrown into the lockup.

The place where I was confined is a cage 16x12 feet, with a boiler-plate floor. An old offender who was in it told me that sometimes thirty-six men have been put in there at one time. The place had a frightful stench, and I got the privilege of cleaning it out. I did the work so well that they gave me other janitor work to do. The keepers are a dirty set, spitting tobacco juice everywhere. They set around with clubs, in readiness to run in any stray wage-slave who comes their way. One of the uses to which prisoners are put is breaking stone for the city, and when prisoners are few the police run in wage-slaves on one pretext or another. Then the rock pile is full again.

The pure and simple unions raise a howl about the products of "scab" labor which come from the city prison, but these same union men vote each election for the perpetuation of the "scab"-breeding system of capitalism. In order to get free labor for improvements our class is declared a criminal class. If a workingman gets drunk from drinking the stuff dispensed here he is arrested and sent to the rock pile; if a "respectable society man" gets loaded he is assisted home by the police. It makes a big difference whether you get drunk at a common gin mill or at the El Paso or other clubs. The road to Pike's Peak has been built by just such labor, secured by just such methods as I have instanced.

Well, I am here to carry the message of the S. L. P. to the working class of Colorado, and that message will be heard, rock pile or no rock pile.

Philip Veal.

Section Hamilton, O., Officers.

The above section elected officers for the ensuing term as follows: Organizer, Frank Ferber; recording secretary, Joseph Paltman; financial secretary, James Macke; treasurer, John Steiger; auditors, Gus Ivo, James Rooke and Ben Feltman; literary agent, Ben Hilbert.

Frank Ferber, Organizer.

Notice of Section Removal.

Section Denver, S. L. P., has moved its headquarters from No. 400 Club building to No. 15 Good Block, corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets. Carl Starkenberg.

IN YANKEE LAND.

Condition of the Textile Workers Vividly Portrayed.

Lowell, Mass., July 19.—I see by the Daily People that W. H. Carroll is to speak in the Worcester, (Mass.) district, and as I have worked as a weaver in the town of Clinton, which is twelve miles from Worcester, I thought I would write and inform you of the conditions of the working class there.

I worked as a weaver in the Lancaster mills which produce gingham and fancy shirting cotton goods. The plant have abous 4,000 looms. In the old mill a weaver tends four looms, but in the new mill some tend eight and nine looms, as they are equipped with the Draper warp stop motion. The loom stops when the warp thread breaks; the result is the weavers have to tend to double the number of looms in the new mill that they do in the old, and they don't get any extra pay for it. In the old mill there is some difference in the speed of the looms.

In the fastest looms the pay is 31 cents per cut, another loom running slower pays 36 cents, another still slower, 39 cents per cut, another 41 cents, another 46 cents per cut, another 48 cents per cut for the same kind of cloth; so you can see that the weaver that tends the fastest looms do not receive any more pay then the weaver that tends the slowest.

In the Lancaster mills the looms are fixed by what is known as the division boss system. That is one man has the fixing charge of about 200 looms, his pay is about $13 per week. His duties are to see if all the weavers are at work morning and noon time, and report to the overseer if any are absent, to do a share of work fixing looms, check the cloth that comes off his section, give out filling when it is needed and in general to look out for the welfare of his division. Under him is a second hand who receives about $11 per week, also a third hand at from $9 to $10 per week; another receiving about $8.90 per week.

When a weaver has a warp run out, or loom that needs fixing, he or she is supposed to call any one of the four, and here is where they rub it into the weaver. One may answer and say "I have too many jobs ahead, get another fixer," and the others may say the same thing and the weavers loom stops and waits until they get good any ready to come and fix it. This is grievance No. 1.

In the dye house the warp chains get torn up and snarled, and when the warp comes to the beamers they have a hard time to run it. The price list for beaming is poor compared to some other textile centers, so in order to make any kind of pay the beamers are allowed to twist the ends instead of tying them. They can twist them quicker. When the twists come to the weavers they have got to tie every one of them, or they will break "weaving in," and cause large "floats" to weaver, for which the weaver will be fined, and as there is no union here every one is afraid to complain for fear of loosing what is known as a job.

The "slashing" of warps is very bad; some are soft, and the weavers have to go down in their pockets and buy wax candles and put them in the warp beam so as to help the warp to run better. In most textile centers the company furnishes wax rolls for soft warps free, and some warps are full of tie backs," that is threads missing, caused by carelessness on part of the slasher tender, which causes poor pay and misery to the weavers. Of course the slashers are rushed too.

Then the weavers are short of shuttles on many sets of looms, having only the shuttles that are running in the loom and every time the filling has to be changed they must have their looms stopped until they change the bobbin in the shuttle. Weavers will go and ask the division boss for more shuttles, and he will answer that there are none, and at the same time the overseer's office is full of them. The reason the division boss won't get shuttles for the weavers is he is afraid the overseer would scold him, and he generally has a piece of land and a small house down in German Town swamp and he is looking out for his $13 per week. He doesn't care a rap, if the weavers make $5 or $9, its all the same to him.

The weaving in the old mill is all on one floor, in a weave shed containing about 3,000 looms in all. The water is not fit to drink, so two men carry it in pails from a spring. Instead of two there should be four or five, for sometimes in the summer a weaver can't get a drink of water for several hours and it is a very hot shop to work in.

The boarding houses are like all of their kind, cheap corporation houses, where the poorest and cheapest kind of food is served which causes the men and women that are fed on it a long time to turn gray and bald headed and lose their teeth and eyesight.

If ever there was a town that need the S. L. P. and the Alliance it is Clinton. I hope Carroll will go there and wake them up.

Textile Worker.

VALUABLE

A. F. of L. Convention Proceedings Reveal "Socialist Party" Duplicity.

Manchester, Va., July 25.—In preparing for a public debate with a leading Kangaroo, knowing that he would base his argument principally on the trades union question, I procured a copy of the printed proceedings of the late convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in New Orleans. I expected to use the book simply in proving that Gompers was unanimously re-elected president of the A. F. of L., the Socialist Party "borers from within" offering no objection to the election of a man whom I have heard several of the Kangs denounce as a fakir.

On looking over the proceedings, however, I soon became aware of the fact that I had come across a mine of information, and that the deeper I dug the more valuable were the treasures I unearthed.

Having seen no mention in The People of the facts contained in the aforesaid proceedings, and feeling that they would prove useful as well as interesting to the members of the S. L. P. and the readers of its organ, I think the following quotations well worth the space required for their reproduction:

"Resolution No. 131—By Delegate Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee, Wis.:

"Whereas, The present salary of the president of the American Federation of Labor is ridiculously small when compared with the dignity and the greatness of this foremost organization of workmen of America; and

"Whereas, It cannot be considered a fair compensation when we take into account the arduous duties and the great responsibilities of the position; and

"Whereas, The financial standing of the American Federation of Labor now does permit a raise of the salary of its officers; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the salary of the president of the American Federation of Labor shall be $4,000 per annum, to be paid in monthly instalments." (Page 110.)

This resolution met with opposition, the committee on president's report providing for an increase of only $25 per month, which would bring the salary up to $2,400 a year. But, bent on getting on the good side of Sammy and his fellow fakirs, Delegate Max S. Hayes (the notorious Kangaroo from Cleveland town) succeeded in getting through an amendment making Gompers' salary $3,000 per annum.

Resolution No. 132, also offered by Berger, is worded exactly like the resolution I have just quoted, but provides that the salary of Frank Morrison, secretary of the A. F. of L., be increased to $2,400 per year. The convention made it $100 more, thus increasing Gompers' "man Friday" from $1,800 to $2,500 a year. (See pages 110 and 147 of Proceedings.)

For some time past the counterfeit "Socialist Party" have been making loud boasts of how they had captured the American Labor Union of the Western States and made of it a Socialist organization. Of course, we all knew that this claim was on a par with many other "glorious achievements" of the Kangs. But listen to what Delegate Berger (Socialist Party national committeeman from Wisconsin, the same individual who offered the above resolutions raising the salaries of the misleaders of trades unionism) proposes to do with this "Socialist trades union":

"Resolution No. 135—By Delegate Victor L. Berger, Milwaukee Federated Trades Council:

"Whereas, It is one of the main objects of the American Federation of Labor to unite the trade union movement of America under one banner for the betterment of the conditions of the wage workers; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the incoming executive council (of the A. F. of L.) be instructed to use every effort, and all honorable and conciliatory means, to unite the American Labor Union of the Western States with the American Federation of Labor." (Page 111.)

The magnanimity of the Kang delegates to the fakirs' convention was indeed a spectacle for the gods!

After having thus attested their desire to advance the material interests of Gompers and his reactionary, anti-Socialist organization, the Kangaroo "borers from within" introduced various and sundry sugar-coated resolutions, the purport of which was that the A. F. of L. place its stamp of approval upon the "Socialist Party"—any old thing in the way of indorsement or recognition would be satisfactory. But the naughty, ungrateful committee on resolutions would have none of the Kangaroos' party, and brought in for adoption by the convention a paper reaffirming the former position of the A. F. of L., viz., that the pure and simple union movement is all sufficient to protect the worker from the capitalistic foe.

Whereupon Max Hayes offered the following as an amendment to the report of the committee:

"Resolved, That this twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor advise the working people to organize their economic and political power to secure for labor the full equivalent of its toil and the overthrowal of the wage system and the establishment of an industrial co-operative democracy." (Page 178.)

A number of Kangaroos favored this amendment, but before it could be voted on Delegate William B. Wilson (secretary of the Miners' national organization), offered as an amendment to the Hayes amendment the following:

"Resolved, That the twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor advise the working people to organize their economic and political power to secure for labor the full equivalent for its toil." (Page 179.)

According to the Proceedings, "Delegate Max S. Hayes accepted the amendment of Delegate Wilson." As already asserted, anything, in any form or shape, would suit the Kangs, and be regarded by them as a great victory.

Gompers took part in the debate, and in the course of his remarks, said:

"I heard Delegate Berger, on the floor of this convention, say that if you elected six Socialist congressmen in the United States you will have very many changes. I respectfully call Delegate Berger's attention to the fact that in the German Parliament there are nearly a hundred Socialists, and there we find the most backward of all European countries in the interest of labor. The man who is held up to typify Socialism, Carl Marx, there is not a Socialist that can find in all his utterances one word for a co-operative commonwealth. During his life he wrote not only his work, 'Des Capital,' but he wrote a number of other works, but in one of them in replying to Proudhon, he denounced the Socialists as the worst enemies of the laboring classes. I know that the Socialists have taken that pamphlet and made a footnote on it, and said that Carl Marx, in writing that, did not have the Socialists of to-day in mind, but I call the attention of the gentleman who made that footnote that the footnote was made when Carl Marx was dead, not when he was alive, when he would have had an opportunity of repudiating those who wanted to expurgate the statement that he made." (Pages 182, 183.)

After this speech of impudent and gross misrepresentation, the vote was taken on the emasculated resolution of Max Hayes, which was defeated by a vote of 140 delegates, representing 4,897 votes, to 90 delegates, representing 4,171 votes.

Besides offering a resolution favoring old age pensions at $12 per month, which the convention turned down, Berger, by the following resolution, which, of course, was adopted, gives Sammy, Morrison, O'Connell and the rest of the fakir outfit another opportunity to prostrate themselves before Roosevelt and the capitalistic politicians, to beg for crumbs for the working class, and lead the unwary workers to continue to support a capitalist class. Here is Berger's resolution:

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge the good offices of the incoming executive council, and of all friends of labor, to procure the enactment of national laws to protect disabled workmen, and to provide a system of national insurance for their assistance during enforced idleness." (Page 225.)

From the resolutions I have quoted and the proceedings given, the valorous performances of the Kangaroo delegation in the pure and simple A. F. of L. convention can be realized. The crowning act of depravity of this mongrel crew who wear the mask of "Socialists" was in their voting for the re-election of Gompers and the administration of the A. F. of L. The fakirs recognize their own species, and Kangaroo Max Hayes, the most indecent in the herd, was rewarded for his log-rolling by being unanimously elected federal delegate to the pure and simple British Trades Union Congress.

With regard to the debate between Section Richmond, S. L. P., and the local branch of the "Socialist Party," I would state that the question was, "Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party is the only bona fide Socialist organization in the United States." The writer had the honor of representing the S. L. P., while John Catrell, a Chicago Kangaroo, undertook the defense of the "Socialist Party." Each side was allowed one hour, divided into periods of forty-five and fifteen minutes, in which to state its case. The S. L. P. led off, explaining the principles, tactics and discipline of our party, and reviewing its history since 1888 and its experience with fake "Socialist" movements. Reaching the S. T. & L. A., we showed up the weakness and rottenness of pure and simple unionism, and cited the Seidenberg and Davis strikes as showing its attitude toward a bona fide labor organization. We then took up the "Socialist Party," showing

(Continued on page 6.)

INDIANAPOLIS TICKET

NOMINATED BY THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Pointed Resolutions Adopted Warning the Working Class Against the Labor Fakir Tool of the Capitalists—The One Aim of the S. L. P. Is Overthrow of Capitalism.

Indianapolis, Ind., July 23.—The Socialist Labor Party of this city held a convention last Sunday in the rooms in the Ingalls block and nominated a full city ticket. The meeting was well attended. Theodore Bernine presided. The nominating speeches were brief and to the point, and the business was handled with dispatch. Following are the nominees:

The Ticket.

Mayor—A. A. Neff.

Clerk—J. T. L. Remley.

Police Judge—John Burkhart.

Councilmen-at-Large—Daniel Newhart, Ora Featheringill, Henry Kurest, Theodore Bernine, Ernest Viewegh and Chas. Lagler.

Ward Councilmen—First Ward, Robt. Bruce; Third Ward, Frank P. Janke; Fourth Ward, Phillip Moore; Ninth Ward, William Hoffmark; Tenth Ward, William Retterer; Eleventh Ward, Paul F. Janke; Thirteenth Ward, Alex Burkhart; Fourteenth Ward, Wm. Linn.

Resolutions.

Resolutions were adopted as follows:

The Socialist Labor Party of Indianapolis, in convention assembled, declares itself in accord with the tactics, the press and the trade union policy of the national organization.

It warns the working class against the tool of the capitalist class, the "pure and simple" trade union leaders—that advocate of capitalism that approves the perpetuation of wage slavery and leads the workers into the false teachings of capitalism. It acknowledges and supports the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance as the only economic organization of the working class, having for its aim the abolishment of wage slavery.

In entering the campaign in this city this year, the Socialist Labor Party sets forth its pledge to the working class and its mandate to its candidates in the following resolutions:

Whereas, The capitalist class, through the private ownership of the means of production and distribution, is able to maintain a labor market, where, through the sale of labor power, the worker is forced to become an article of merchandise, subject to the fluctuations of supply and demand; and,

Whereas, Government is being withheld from its present proper function of directing industry and is used by the capitalist class to perpetuate the present system; there, be it

Resolved, That the capitalist class should relinquish the ownership and control of the machinery of production, and that the working class—the only potential class in society to-day—should succeed to the powers of government and proceed to the administration of industry; and be it further

Resolved, That, inasmuch as centralization of government keeps pace with centralization in industry, a working class party, in local as well as national elections, can have but one aim, and that the overthrow of wage slavery and the establishment of the Socialist Republic, and the Socilist Labor Party has no other object.

It is, therefore, the bonafide party of the working class, and we call upon the working class to unite with us in this

Officers of Section Winona, Minn.

Our section chose the following officers for the ensuing term: Organizer, G. Campbell; Recording and Corresponding Secretary, A. Roemhild; Financial Secretary, A. G. Smith; Treasurer, Max Goltz; Literary Agent, G. Campbell.

A. Roemhild, Secretary.

Section Roanoke, Va.

The following comrades have been elected officers of Section Roanoke, Va., S. L. P., for the ensuing term: H. D. McTier, Organizer; J. P. Goodman, Treasurer; W. T. Welsh, Financial Secretary; James McTier, Recording Secretary; Ed Smith, Literary Agent.

Section Duluth's Officers.

Section Duluth, Minn., at its regular meeting July 16 re-elected the officers of the preceding term for the ensuing six months: They are as follows: Organizer, Edward Kriz; Corresponding Secretary, L. F. Dworschak; Financial Secretary and Treasurer, John P. Johnson; Recording Secretary, G. W. Hellstrom; Literary Agent, Theodore Zollner; Daily and Weekly People Agent, Ed Kriz. Auditing Committee—Comrades John H. Opperman, Frank Weida and Carl Thiel. Press Committee—Comrades L. F. Dworschak, John P. Johnson and Julius Dworschak.

LITHOGRAPHY

Lithography is a reproductive art. It is the function of the composite artisan, called "the lithographer," to take a hand-painted sketch and reproduce it a number of times in a number of ways on stone and then print copies therefrom. Sometimes lithography is aluminumography, sometimes it is zincography, for then the reproducing is done by means of aluminum or zinc, instead of stone. Sometimes lithography is photo-lithography, that is, photo-mechanical processes are used to reproduce the original sketch on stone.

Lithography was invented in the last decade of the eighteenth century by an impecunious playwright and actor, Alois Sennefelder, of Munich, Bavaria. A washbill laid on a piece of stone was reproduced in such a manner as to cause Sennefelder to think of a cheap method of striking off his plays, and, finally, of producing pictures. Like most inventors under capitalism, Sennefelder is apotheosized by the capitalists who are being enriched by the exploitation of his invention. He, however, almost starved while developing his invention, and had to fight for it when it was completed.

Lithography has so grown from this accidental beginning as to be completely transformed. Stone is no longer entirely used, but is jostled by zinc and aluminum which enters into competition with it. The primitive handpress is superceded by costly steam and electric driven flat-bed, rotary and multi-color presses. The artist, from being an adept of the crayon and pen, has become a user of Ben Day films, air brushes and the photo-mechanical processes. The humble litho-studio, with its simple division of labor, is replaced by gigantic thirteen-story establishments, where hundreds of men toil in minute co-operation under the domination of the financiers of the trust.

Lithography has so grown since its accidental beginning that it is now an industry of considerable proportions in England, France and Germany, especially in the latter, the country of its origin. In this country, lithography has, according to the census of 1900, 263 establishments devoted to the creation of its products. They are capitalized at $22,676,142 and their output is valued at $22,240,679. One thousand four hundred and ninety-seven "salaried officers, clerks, etc.," and 12,994 wage earners, or 14,491 persons all told, are employed in these establishments.

In brief, lithography has sprung in a century from an accident to an industry with trusts, trade unions and employer's associations, who talk "mutual interests," "welfare of the craft," etc., etc., while overreaching and circumventing one another—in fewer words, lithography, under the egis of capitalism, has evoluted from an accident into the class struggle.

This evolution, as may be inferred, has not been beneficial to the working class employed at lithography. Conditions that were originally artistic and idyllic, according to Charles Dickens, and other early writers, have become transformed into conditions in which the exploitation and the oppression of capitalism prevails.

This transformation was largely due to a change in the character of lithography from a creative art, enjoying the recognition and enlisting the abilities of prominent artists to a reproductive art exploited by all shades and varieties of capitalists "for what there is in it."

One of the most potential of the forces that brought about this transformation was the invention of the steam lithographic press.

Prior to the invention of the steam press the artist was generally the prime factor in lithography. He was the maker of the picture and the employer. The artist was assisted by the hand press printer, with whom he often formed partnerships. With the advent of the steam printing press, the proofer, transferer and pressman were necessary and were, consequently, evolved. The simple studio with its simple stone and primitive hand press, became a factory, with steam-driven machinery and greater division of labor. In the course of time, type-printing, bronzing, varnishing, tinning, stone grinding, engraving, photo-engraving, and other machines and their operatives were added, requiring more motive power space, and capital for their installation and housing, until to-day the employer instead of being the quondam employe, is now a corporation or trust composed of butchers, brewers, theatrical managers tobacco trust magnates, press and supply manufacturers and insurance company presidents. The evolution of lithography has split the lithographers into capitalists and workers, making it ever more impossible for the latter to become employers and escape from wage-slavery.

But this condemnation to wage-slavery is not the worst feature of the evolution, for with it there has gone a decrease in wages and an intensification of labor. In the case of the artist, for instance, his position as an employe was originally highly remunerative.

A decade or two ago artists received $30 and $40 a week for executing work for which they now would receive no more than $18 a week. Wages now range from $12 to $25 a week, with the average much nearer the $12 than the $25 mark.

In addition the artist is now required to perform a certain piece of work, say a panel, in about one-half the time required a decade ago. Whereas formerly the artist's work was leisurely executed and without the aid of expedients and mechanical devices, it is now rushed, and such inventions as the Ben Day film and the photo-mechanical processes are employed together with make-shifts of all kinds to hasten the completion of "the job." In crayon work, the "art" of the artist consists ever more in the dexterous use of the flat of the crayon and the vigorous, though soul-inspiring application of the "rubbing-rag."

In the case of the printer the evolution of industry has also been bad. The output of the small hand press was about 1800 impressions, or printings, a week, for which the hand press printer received wages varying from $18 to $20 a week for the lower grades, and from $20 to $30 and even as high as $50 and $60 a week, for the higher grade of printing.

To-day the pressman who runs a six color multi-color press, which prints 88,000 sheets, or 524,000 printings of the highest grade in a week, receives $35 while his two assistants are paid $15 a piece, making a total of $65 a week for printing over 291 1-9 times more printings than the $69 a week hand pressman.

If we take the flat-bed presses, Nos. 3, 3 1-2, 4, 4 1-2, 5, and 5 1-2, and use the same method of computation, we find that the pressmen, who receive from $20 to $25 a week turn out from 33,000 to 36,000 sheets a week each or from eighteen to twenty times more printings than the old time hand pressman who received similar wages. Or if we turn to the two color rotary press with its 55,300 sheets, or 110,000 printings, a week we find the pressman receives $30 a week and his assistant $16, or $46 a week for producing sixty-one times more printing than the old hand pressman. All along the line we find the pressman and his assistants producing more printings and receiving therefore absolutely and relatively less wages than the old hand pressman.

But if further evidence of the decline of the lithographer is needed, the census of 1900 furnishes it. This census shows that in 1890 there were in 219 establishments 834 "salaried officers, clerks, etc," who received $1,291,844, or $1,382.03 each in salaries. In 1900 there were in 263 establishments 1,497 "salaried officers, clerks, etc.," who received $1,963,388, or $1,315 each in salaries. The figures for those designated as wage-earners are still worse. In 1890, there were employed in 219 establishments 9,656 wage-earners who received $5,885,320, or an average of $609.50 in wages. This is almost $12 a week. In 1900, 263 establishments paid 12,944 wage-earners $6,882,126, or an average of $529 in wages. This is a little more than $10 a week, or a decline of almost $2 a week in the average wages for the decade 1890-1900.

Again, the census of 1900, shows that the value of lithographic products increased from $17,988,157 in 1890 to $22,240,679, or 23.6 per cent. Employes, on the other hand, increased from 10,590 to 14,491, or 39.01 per cent. To the superficial observer, this appears to indicate a decrease in the amount of labor exacted from each employer. Such a conclusion is erroneous, however.

Owing to the competition of other reproductive arts, like the three color processes, lithographic prices have been decreased more than one half in the past decade. Show cards that formerly sold for 12 1-2 cents apiece, for instance, can now be obtained for 5 1-2 cents. Using these facts as a basis of computation, it is safe to declare that if the value of lithographic products in 1900 were appraised according to 1890 figures the increase would be fully 50 per cent. instead of 23.6 per cent. There can be no doubt that though the value of the product of the lithographic worker has decreased, the volume of that product has increased. In other words, lithographers, instead of working less to-day than a decade ago are actually compelled to work much harder. Labor has been intensified in the lithographic industry, just as it has been intensified in other industries. It has declined in this respect, just as it has declined in other respects.

Of course, the lithographers have sought to check this decline. They have unions, including about 3000 employes of various names, but all organized on the same principles. The first and most important of these principles is "the mutual interests of capital and labor." So deeply do the unions believe in this principle that they go on strike whenever it is necessary to emphasize it. Thus the printers organized in the L. I. P. brought home to the employers the fact that "the mutual interests of capital and labor" required the 53-hour work week—a work week not unknown to the early printers—by successive strikes in different cities.

Thus the commercial artists, in 1896, sought to bring home to all the employers the fact that "the mutual interests of capital and labor" required the abolition of piece work and the granting of four other demands by inaugurating a general strike throughout the country—a strike that was defeated by the treachery of the L. I. P. Thus again, only recently in Schwenke's, Flatbush, L. I., the commercial artists brought home "the mutual interests of capital and labor" by successfully striking that shop. On the other hand, the poster artists thus brought home "the mutual interests of capital and labor" by striking the shop of the Donaldson Company, at Newport, Ky.

"The mutual interests of capital and labor" are emphasized in various other ways, one of the most common of which is the use by the unions of the employment bureaus to manipulate the labor power of their respective members to their own exclusive benefit.

The second great cardinal principle is "the welfare of the craft." Every trade union in the lithographic industry believes in "the welfare of the craft"—especially their branch of it. Consequently when the artists struck, in 1896, the L. I. P. betrayed them in a scandalous manner. The members of the executive committee of that strike could divulge some interesting information on this point if they cared to. Consequently also, when the feeders, or press assistants, went out at Ottman's, this city, for more wages the L. I. P. pressmen ("the printers") nobly filled their places; and when the L. I. P. struck at McLaughlin's, Brooklyn, in an effort to increase wages and unionize the establishment the feeders retaliated in the same noble manner. "The welfare of the craft" had to be maintained at all hazards, even if one or two branches of the craft had to suffer for the benefit of the others.

But "the welfare of the craft" is no idle dream. When the L. I. P. fellow who wears goggles and edits a lithographic trade paper for supply manufactures—when the fellow, who is corpulent and rejoices in the appelation of General Short—given by the artists in recognition of his good work for them in 1896—wish to advance the tariff interests of their employers and boom their own political prestige, they utilize the unions to that end by persuading them it is all for "the welfare of the craft." When there is anything especially beneficial to the employers to be done these same fellows, together with a few others, notably "The Father of Lithography," enlist the services of the unions to do it—all for "the welfare of the craft."

But "the mutual interests of capital and labor" and "the welfare of the craft" are not wholly intrusted to the care of the unions. The employers have an association that embraces every firm in the United States and Canada. These firms are assessed pro rata, according to the value of the plant and the volume of the business done. The association, consequently, has a big treasury.

The secretary is a "social engineer" and a lawyer, one of the numerous tribe of Smith, with a beveled-edge surname to relieve the commonplacedness of the other name. One of his chief functions is to keep a card system which contains the statistics of every employe in the country, his pedigree, habits, family relations, salary, where last employed, trade classifications, etc., etc. Should the employe so tabulated quit his job and secure another at a higher rate he soon loses it or is compelled to accept the same pay he received in his former position. Many an artist or printer who thought he had made a good move has found himself suddenly without a job for refusing to accept his former wages in a new position. This scheme has destroyed the effectiveness of the manipulation of employes by the employment bureaus of the unions. It is no longer possible for an employe to take advantage of the demand for men, due to "prosperity," and leave a situation at say $23 a week, get another at $24 and then agree to return to the first at $25. That game, which was operated with considerable success, is now thoroughly destroyed by this system. And, of course, it is done for "the welfare of the craft" and "the mutual interest of capital and labor"—at least so Short and Smith will tell those who are innocent enough to believe them.

The Employers' Association is a believer in arbitration and agreements—it's so nice to run a fellow into a corner, while advancing "the welfare of the craft" and "the mutual interests of capital and labor," and then "arbitrate" and "agree" with him.

How arbitration and agreement works is told by one of the proprietors of a downtown commercial house. Says he: "Why, before we had our association and the employers were thoroughly united we didn't know where we were at! The first thing we knew a pressman quit work or a proofer left us, and we were in a hole. Then the men did pretty much as they pleased. They washed up at five o'clock, and when they had any grievance the officers of the union came to see us as though they were the bosses of the place. But all that is changed now! Why, the other day one of our pressmen stopped at noon without any explanation. Well, I sent for Short. He gave the pressman h—ll and told him to go back to work; and he did. Now, instead of stopping at 5 o'clock the men stop at 5.20. That's 20 minutes a man, or 100 minutes for five presses. Short says our agreement calls for fifty-three hours a week, and consequently we are entitled to fifty-three, not fifty. When we have any trouble now Short and the others come to us in an altogether different manner. They are respectful, and greet us with courtesy. Oh, I tell you, our association, with its arbitration and agreements, is a great thing! Through it we have our men pretty well in control and know where we are at."

In this way do the lithographic trade unions attempt to check the decline in the condition of the lithographers. Instead of recognizing that there are no mutual interests between capital and labor, instead of recognizing that the present system of production is one of working class exploitation for the benefit of the capitalist class and that, consequently, if the working class would profit by industrial evolution it must be overthrown by a political and economic movement of the entire working class, they prefer to close their eyes to facts and to continue to support the system that grinds them down, while engaging in internecine warfare with one another in a scramble for the ever-dwindling crumbs which it affords.

How different is this conduct compared to that of their German brethren, who are Socialists and who, as such, labor for the overthrow of capitalism, while striving to improve their conditions as best they can during its continuance.

The Lithographers' Gazette, of London, England, for June, contains the following:

"REPORT OF THE GERMAN ORGANIZATIONS.

"Until the 1st of April, 1891, there existed local trade unions in 26 towns in Germany, numbering altogether about 1,600 members; but these unions were not connected with each other in any way. These trade unions were established in the year 1885, at a time when the fetters of the Socialist Law were a heavy burden on the workers' freedom of movement. Shortly after the abolition of that law it was decided to establish a Central Federation embracing the whole of Germany, which sprang into existence on the 1st of April, 1891, under the name of the 'Union of Lithographers, Litho. Printers, and Allied Trades of Germany.' Immediately after it was established the trade unions were dissolved and the members transferred to the Central Federation; so that at the outset it numbered 2,768 members in 25 towns, and an equal number of societies. The number of members had increased by the 1st of January, 1892, to 3,604 in 59 societies. On the 1st of January, 1895, there were 4,060 members in 82 societies; and on the 1st of January, 1902, 5,091 members and 98 societies. On the 1st of July, 1902, there were 7,622 members and 108 societies. The proportion of organized members to the total at this period was as follows:

"In the 120 towns where our organization has got a footing there are 4,239 lithographers, of whom 2,037, or 48 per cent., are organized, and 6,893 litho. printers, of whom 4,339, or 63 per cent., are organized. In the towns not included in our organization there are 1,132 lithographers and 1,793 litho. printers; so that the aggregate proportions in Germany are as follows:

"Lithographers, total 5,371, of whom 2,037, or 38 per cent., are organized; litho. printers, total 8,686, of whom 4,339, or 50 per cent., are organized; etchers, total 1,248, of whom 749, or 60 per cent., are organized; heliographers, total 594, of whom 298, or 50 per cent., are organized.

"Of the stone polishers in Germany, 105 are organized; of the printers of paperhangings, 99; and of the stampers, 12. At the present time propaganda is being carried on among the copperplate printers, and out of nearly 200 that are employed in Germany about 75 have already joined our organization.

"The following are eligible for membership of the Federation: Lithographers, cartographers (poster artists), etchers, litho. printers, copperplate printers, music printers, printers of wallpaper, stone polishers, and stampers.

"Since 1888 we have had our own trade organ, viz., the Graphische Presse, which at the present time is published weekly in an edition of 9,000 copies, together with a technical supplement (Graphische Rundschau) in the same edition.

"Since the establishment of the Federation a number of wages movements have taken place, by which a great deal has been gained without a declared strike. In addition to a number of small strikes, the majority of which ended in a complete or partial victory and a third of all were unsuccessful, there was a big strike in the year 1893 in Brandenburg. This contest lasted 17 weeks, and entailed an expenditure of over 50,000 marks. As regards wages movements, the important one of 1896 should be mentioned; concessions were obtained in 40 towns, but in Berlin, where the movement eventuated in a big strike, it failed. Strikes broke out in 1895 in 14 towns, ten of which were successful, two partly successful and two unsuccessful. In the year 1896, 2,333 coleagues obtained a reduction of working, some of from three to nine hours per week; 918 colleagues obtained payment for holidays; 682 coleagues obtained extra pay for overtime of from 25 to 50 per cent. A large number of colleagues obtained the minimum wages asked for and considerable increase of pay.

"From 1897 to 1901 wages movements took place in 86 towns, which were everywhere successful. These wages movements affected 264 firms. In 14 towns strikes occurred; and in a number of other firms notices were handed in, whereupon the demands were granted.

"Since the existence of the Federation about 250,000 marks have been expended for the strikes of colleagues, and about 25,000 marks for strikes in other trades; thus for the big strike of letter-press printers about 12,000 marks were voluntarily subscribed, for the miners 2,000 marks, for the English engineers 3,000 marks, and the same amount for the men locked out in Denmark. Corresponding sums were sent to Italy, Switzerland and Belgium. At the present time we are preparing for the introduction of a tariff of reforms dealing with the regulation of the apprenticeship question, hours of labor, minimum wages, etc."

Compare this stalwart class-conscious organization to the puny brand organizations of this country. Fired by the true principles of working class solidarity, it does not talk about "the mutual interests of capital and labor," but fights for those of labor. Fired by the true principles of working class solidarity, it has made the workingmen of the industry one in fact, and not in phraseology only. Fired by the principles of working class solidarity, it aids the working class of all industries and nations to improve their condition. Finally, fired by the true principles of working class solidarity, it labors for the overthrow of capitalism through the inauguration of Socialism.

Lithographers of America, quit being dupes of goggle-eyed editors and the General Shorts. Don't believe that the decline in your condition has reached an end. Lithography is not the only reproductive art. The photo-mechanical processes are pushing it hard, making new methods of labor, new inventions and new organizations of capital necessary every day. Multi-color printing processes, transferring machinery, photography and trusts will continue to be experimented with, displacing or so reorganizing labor as the interests of the capitalist may demand. Under such conditions, what every advantage may still be left, will, in the course of time, be destroyed to your further undoing.

Study Socialism. Join the Socialist Labor Party and the S. T. & L. A. Work and vote for their principles to the end that your condition may not only be improved, but that your class—the working class—may be emancipated

THE RAILROAD SECTION FOREMAN

It is not the purpose of the writer to discuss high "jints" and low "cinters," or the technicalities of stone, cinder or gravel ballast, but to show his readers the economic status of the railroad section foreman. To the trade journals and trades union magazines may safely be left those dissertations on track work so useful to those foremen whose chief aim is to intensify the energies of those under their direction; what we are interested in are those phases of his work which fix his status under capitalism. At intervals of ten to fifteen miles on Western, Northern and Southwestern railroads are section houses; frame buildings, of usually four rooms, for the accommodation of the section foreman and his family—if he is married. These structures are erected by house gangs under the charge of the railroad building and bridge department. They are made of rough, unseasoned lumber touched up or soaked in cheap paint, and are planned to swelter the occupants in summer and freeze them in winter. Opposite the section hous is a tool shanty used for storing a hand car and track tools. A fence, which is whitewashed just previous to the annual inspection, usually surrounds this "happy home," enclosing a barren waste of rock and sand and occasionally a few withered shrubs and scrawny cottonwood or umbrella trees. Water is furnished by Western railroad companies to section houses, and hauled in wooden or oil tank cars which have never been cleaned since the first construction train went through.

This saline, alkaline fluid is stored in cemented cisterns, and is used in common by the section foreman and other employes on the section.

Sections are from ten to twelve miles long, and foremen are expected to keep their track in a perfect state of repair, free from weeds, keep up a wire fence on each side of the right of way, repair breaks in the telegraph line and reset poles when broken, keep a time book for a dozen men, run a commissary department, owned by some grocery firm and the local officials. Be ready at all times for emergency calls, get the men to work by 7 a. m. and bring them in at 6 p. m., both going in and coming out on the men's time. He may expect a call at any time to go to a washout or wreck with his gang and work from two days to two weeks putting the track in serviceable condition, eating sow belly and beans on the work train or Mexican lunches and other horrors furnished by the women of the "hombres" in the track gang.

At wrecks the company may allow him double time, and for Sunday work time and a half. His pay varies from $45 to $70 on most roads west of the Missouri River. To get employment he must pass a stringent medical examination, be under forty-five years of age, and furnish first-class references from last employer. The old time "tarrier" as the ancient Irishman was called, is conspicuously absent now. He has been supplanted on th Santa Fe system by Kansas farmers, Mexicans and negroes; on the Southern Pacific system by cowmen and natives of Texas, Missouri, California and Arkansas. The section men are quartered in a long barracks like the Mormon endowment house, or in tie shanties with mud roof and mud chinked walls, but a short distance from the section house.

Mexican labor is exploited on most southern and western roads, paid $1 per day, and robbed from start to finish. Their fare is chiefly brown beans, tortillas of corn and an occasional can of tomatoes; their luxuries sotole, tequila, mescal and the inevitable cigarette of brown paper and recut tobacco, smelling like a burnt shoe or a wet gum coat.

A number of roads employ their section foremen through supply houses in the principal cities which also supply the commissary at the various section houses. This is notably the case at Fort Worth, Texas, where foremen are employed for the T. & P. Railway ($50 per month) in this manner.

On this road, too, the foremen must give the roadmaster a monthly commission or blackmail of $5 to retain employment. The track department is usually subordinate to the transportation department, and many roads allow the roadmaster but limited authority, making him virtually a clerk to the division superintendent.

Controlling a number of ignorant Mexicans, negroes or white men, the section foreman is considered a useful servant by the railroad political agencies. A day or two prior to election he is instructed by his roadmaster or through the station telegrapher how to vote his men and advised to cast his own vote for the railroad candidate. A great deal is said about the railroad furnishing him employment, giving him a chance to wear their collar, as it were, and gratitude suggests that he should vote against his own interest every time he is told to do so. The track department is behind the transportation department in the character of intensified labor and innovations which perform more work with less men, but the indications are that the railroad management of the future will remedy all this.

Convicts are extensively used for repair and construction work on the S. P. Railway in Texas, and much of the contract work is performed with this class of labor under charge of foremen and guards with loaded shot guns. The Cotton Belt Railway has a ditch digging machine, a track-laying machine and several other devices designed to reduce human labor and skill to the minimum and increase railroad dividends to the maximum, but aside from the track laying machine, in construction work, none of them are generally used.

Outdoor life tends to promote in a section foreman a rugged constitution and a good digestion, but constant exposure to all sorts of weather, bad water, adulterated food, long hours and exhaustive labor break down that iron constitution and put the prematurely aged wreck outside the service, a souvenir of and a tribute to the squeezing out process for profits which is always enriching the capitalist and destroying the worker. The section foreman has evaded the labor fakir for a long time, but they are after him hard now. Geo. Estes of the U. B. of R. E. wants to get his clutches on him and offers him a cheap coffin, a lovely funeral and a few dollars for his family to vegetate on. George believes in fifteenth century conditions for the section foreman, a few less hours and a few more cents is the sum of his creed. He doesn't believe in the abolition of wage slavery any more than Willie R. Hearst or Mark Hanna does. On the contrary he is one of Hearst's boosters with all that that implies.

As if this were not enough we have the Brotherhood of Railroad Trackmen, run by one Wilson, of Canadian Pacific notoriety, who was so ably and completely exposed by one of our Canadian comrades. It is a cheap insurance graft on the mind your own business principles of P. M. Arthur's B. L. E. It stands on the same footing as the orders of the firemen, conductors, brakemen, switchmen and telegraphers, that is to say, it strikes while all the others remain at work and haul in scabs to take their places, and when the men are licked back to work it announces a great "victory" in big scare heads. It advises the men to always vote the bosses ticket, and its official organ, the Trackmen's Journal, is an intellectual garbage box.

An hour or two less per day or a few cents added to his daily wage seems to be the chief incentive in the dreary, isolated life of the section foreman; of Socialism he has the vaguist conception, culled from the Appeal to Reason or similar trashy, sentimental rubbish. Very few know what the real S. L. P. brand means, or have ever seen any of our Party publications. There is a good field for missionary work among them—the railroad companies will look after details with labor starving machinery and a few more panics will do the rest.

A. S. D.

Cleveland, O., Picnic and Outing.

On Sunday, August 16, Section Cleveland will hold a picnic at Hahn's Grove, to which it cordially invites all local readers of The Daily and Weekly People. Hahn's Grove is an ideal place for an outing; it is beautifully situated on Lake Erie, about 12 miles west of the public square. Plenty of shade and fruit trees stud the landscape; all accommodations for a basket picnic, including benches, tables, nice lawns, etc., will be found there. For dancing and refreshments the committee in charge has made all necessary arrangements. To those who enjoy aquarian sports it may be said that Hahn's Grove has a fine bathing beach. All you have to do is to bring your "toggery" with you.

Come out in the forenoon and spend all day with the Socialists of Cleveland in green nature. Admission to grounds is free. Tickets for transportation from Rocky River bridge to the grove can be secured from party members. Take Detroit street to Rocky River, then look about for party's ticket agent, who will sell you ticket and direct you to the Lake Shore electric car (Loraine suburban), which will take you direct to Hahn's Grove.

The Committee.

Daily People Auxiliary League.

Section Lawrence, Mass., $14; Section Lynn, Mass., $3; A. Good, Brooklyn, N. Y., $7; Section Winnipeg, Canada, $12; Minneapolis, Minn., Daily People League, $2.50; Section New Haven, Conn., $1.50; 28th A. D., New York, $2; Los Angeles, Cal., Daily People League, $5; Section Cleveland, O., 75c.; John Donohue, New York, $5; A. C. McGinty, San Francisco, Cal., $5; Socialist Labor Club, Brooklyn, N. Y., $4; 7th A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y., $1.50; Section Indianapolis, Ind., $3.75; Dr. Julius Frankel, New York, $5; Section Patton, Pa., $4; 23d A. D., New York, $1.25; California member-at-large, $12; A. S. Dowler, Solitude, Tex., $4; Section Salt Lake City, Utah, $4; 13th and 14th A. D., Brooklyn, N. Y., $3; Section Baltimore, Md., $8.55; Section St. Paul, Minn., $10; George Abelson, New York, $1; Section San Antonio, Tex., $10. Total, $120.80. Previously acknowledged, $3,993.25. Grand total, $4,123.05. Henry Kuhn, Treasurer, Daily People Auxiliary League.

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WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART II.

WOMAN IN THE PRESENT—Continued.

Abortion is, in many cases, accompanied by the most serious results. The operation is dangerous; death not infrequently occurs; often the result is a permanent impairment of health. "The troubles of troublesome pregnancy and child-birth are infinitely less than the sufferings consequent upon artificial abortion."[25] Barrenness is one of its most common consequences. All that, notwithstanding, abortion is practiced also in Germany, ever more frequently, and for the reasons given. Between 1882-1888, the number of cases in Berlin, of which the criminal courts took cognizance, rose 155 per cent. The *chronique scandaleuse* of the last years dealt frequently with cases of abortion, that caused great sensation, due to the circumstance that reputable physicians and women, prominent in society, played a *role* in them. Furthermore, to judge from the rising number of announcements in our newspapers, the institutions and places increase in which married and unmarried women of the property class are offered an opportunity to await the results of a "slip" in perfect secrecy.

The dread of a large increase of children,—due to the smallness of means, and the cost of bringing up—has, among all classes and even peoples, developed the use of preventatives into a system, that here and yonder has grown into a public calamity. It is a generally known fact that, in all strata of French society, the "two-child system" is in force. In few countries of civilization are marriages relatively as numerous as in France, and in no country is the average number of children so small, and the increase of population so slow. The French capitalist, like the small-holder and allotment peasant, pursues the system; the French workingman follows suit. In many sections of Germany the special situation of the peasants seem to have led to similar conditions. We know a charming region in Southwest Germany, where, in the garden of every peasant, there stands the so-called "Sevenbaum," whose properties are applied to abortive purposes. In another district of the same country the regular two-child system prevails among the peasants: they do not wish to divide the places. Moreover, striking is the measure in which literature, that treats with and recommends the means of "facultative sterility," increases in Germany both in volume and demand,—of course, always under the colors of science, and in allusion to the alleged threatening danger of over-population.

Along with abortion and the artificial prevention of conception, crime plays its *role*. In France, the murder of children and their exposure is perceptibly on the increase, both promoted by the provision of the French civil code that forbids all inquiry after the paternity of the child. Section 340 of the *Code Civil* decrees: "*La recherche de la paternite est interdite;*" on the other hand, Section 314 provides: "*La recherche de la maternite est admise.*" To inquire after the paternity of a child is forbidden, but is allowed after its maternity,—a law that glaringly brings out the injustice contemplated towards the seduced woman. The men of France are free to seduce as many women and girls as they are able to; they are free from all responsibility; they owe no support to the child. These provisions were instituted under the pretext that the female sex should be frightened against seducing the men. As you see, everywhere it is the weak man, this limb of the stronger sex, who is seduced, but never seduces. The result of Section 340 of the *Code Civil* was Section 312, which provides: "*L'enfant concupendant le marriage a pour pere le mari.*"[26] Inquiry after the paternity being forbidden, it is logical that the husband, crowned with horns, rest content with having the child, that his wife received from another, considered his own. Inconsistency, at any rate, can not be charged to the French capitalist class. All attempts to amend Section 340 have so far failed. Lately, February, 1895, the Socialist deputies in the French Chamber of Deputies presented a bill intended to put an end to the disfranchised position of the seduced or betrayed woman. Whether the attempt will be crowned with success is doubtful.

On the other hand, the French capitalist class—sensible of the cruelty it committed in so framing the law as to make it impossible for the deceived woman to turn for support to the father of her child—sought to make up for its sins by establishing foundling asylums. According to our famous "morals," there is no paternal feeling towards the illegitimate child; that exists only for "legitimate heirs." Through the foundlings' asylums the mother also is taken from the new-born child. According to the French fiction, foundlings are orphans. In this way, the French capitalist class has its illegitimate children brought up, *at the expense of the State*, as "children of the fatherland." A charming arrangement. In Germany, things bid fair to be switched on the French track. The provisions in the bill for a civil code for the German Empire contain maxims on the legal status of illegitimate children, strongly in contrast with the humane law still in force.

According to the bill, a dishonored girl—even if blameless, or seduced with the promise of subsequent marriage, or induced to consent to coition through some criminal act—has no claim against the seducer except as indemnity for the costs of delivery, and for support during the first six weeks after the birth of the child, and then only within the bounds of what is strictly necessary. Only in some of the cases of the worst crimes against morality, can a slight money indemnity be granted to the seduced girl, at the discretion of the court, and without the necessity of proving actual damages. The illegitimate child has no claim upon the seducer of his mother, except for the merest necessaries of life, and then only until its fourteenth year. All claims of the child on its father are, however, barred if, within pregnancy, any other man cohabit with its mother. The plaintiff child has, moreover, to prove that its mother has not accepted the embraces of any other man.

Menger, the expositions in whose treatise[27] we here follow, justly raises against the bill the serious charge that it only accrues to the advantage of the well-to-do, immoral men, seducers of ignorant girls, often girls who sin through poverty, but leaves these fallen girls, together with their wholly guiltless children, entirely unprotected, aye, pushes them only deeper into misery and crime. Menger cites, in this connection, the provisions of the Prussian law. According thereto, an unmarried woman or widow of good character, who is made pregnant, is to be indemnified by the man according to his means. The indemnity shall, however, not exceed one-fourth of his property. An illegitimate child has a claim upon its father for support and education, regardless of whether his mother is a person of good character: the expenditure, however, shall be no higher than the education of a legitimate child would cost to people of the peasant or of ordinary citizen walks of life. If the illicit intercourse occurred under promise of future marriage, then, according to the further provisions of Prussian law, the Judge is duly to award the woman, pronounced innocent and a wife, the name, standing and rank of the man, together with all the rights of a divorced woman. The illegitimate child has, in such cases, all the rights of children born in wedlock. We may await with curiosity to see whether the provisions of this bill, so hostile to woman, will acquire the force of a civil code of law in Germany. But retrogression is the key-note in our legislation.

Between the years of 1830-1880, there were 8,563 cases of infanticide before the French court of assizes, the figures rising from 471 in 1831, to 980 in 1880. During the same period, 1,032 cases of abortion were tried, 41 in 1831, and in 1880 over 100. Of course, only a small part of the abortions came to the knowledge of the criminal court; as a rule, only when followed by serious illness or death. In the cases of infanticide, the country population contributed 75 per cent., in the cases of abortion the cities 65 per cent. In the city, the women have more means at command to prevent normal birth; hence, the many cases of abortion and the small number of infanticides. It is the reverse in the country.

Such is the composition of the picture presented by modern society in respect to its most intimate relations. The picture differs wide from that that poets and poetically doused phantasts love to paint it. Our picture, however, has this advantage,—it is true. And yet the picture still calls for several strokes of the brush to bring out its character in full.

In general, there can be no difference of opinion touching the present and average mental inferiority of the female sex to the male. True enough, Balzac, by no means a woman-lover, claims: "The woman, who has received a male education, possesses in fact the most brilliant and fruitful qualities for the building of her own happiness and that of her husband;" and Goethe, who knew well both the men and women of his times, expresses himself in Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship (confessions of a pure soul): "Learned women were ridiculed, and also the educated ones were disliked, probably because it was considered impolite to put so many ignorant men to shame." We agree with both. Nevertheless, the fact is no wise altered that, in general, women stand intellectually behind the men. This difference is compulsory, because *woman is that which man, as her master, has made her*. The education of woman, more so than that of the working class, has been neglected since time immemorial; nor are latter-day improvements adequate. We live in days when the aspiration after exchange of thought grows in all circles, in the family also; and there the neglected education of woman is felt as a serious fault, and it avenges itself upon the husband.

The object of the education of man—at least it is so claimed, although due to the mistaken methods, the object is often missed, perchance, also, is not meant to be reached—aims at the development of the intellect, the sharpening of the powers of thought, the broadening of the field of practical knowledge, and the invigoration of the will-power, in short, at the cultivation of the functions of the mind. With woman, on the contrary, education, so far as at all attended to in a higher degree, is mainly aimed at the intensification of her feelings, at formality and polite culture—music, belles-letters, art, poetry—all of which only screw her nervous sensitiveness and phantasy up to a higher pitch. This is a mistaken and unhealthy policy. In it the fact transpires that the powers, which determine the measure of woman's education, are guided only by their ingrained prejudices regarding the nature of the female character, and also by the cramped position of woman. The object must not be to develop still further the sentimental and imaginative side of woman, which would only tend to heighten her natural inclination to nervousness; neither should her education be limited to etiquette and polite literature. The object, with regard to her as to man, should be to develop their intellectual activity and acquaint them with the phenomena of practical life. It would be of greatest benefit to both sexes if, in lieu of a superfluity of sentiment, that often becomes positively uncanny, woman possessed a good share of sharpened wit and power for exact reasoning; if, in lieu of excessive nervous excitation and timidity, she possessed firmness of character and physical courage; in lieu of conventional, literary refinement, in so far as she at all has any, she had a knowledge of the world, of men and of the powers of Nature.

Generally speaking, what is termed the feeling and spirituality of woman has hitherto been nurtured without stint, while her intellectual development has, on the contrary, been grossly neglected and kept under. As a consequence, she suffers of hypertrophy of feeling and spirituality, hence is prone to superstition and miracles,—a more than grateful soil for religious and other charlataneries, a pliant tool for all reaction. Blockish men often complain when she is thus affected, but they bring no relief, because often they are themselves steeped up to the ears in prejudices.

By reason of woman's being almost generally as here sketched, she looks upon the world differently from man. Hence, again, a strong source of contrariety between the two sexes.

Participation in public life is to-day one of the most essential duties of a man; that many men do not yet understand this does not alter the fact. Nevertheless, the number of those is ever increasing who realize that public institutions stand in intimate connection with the private lot of the individual; that his success or failure, together with that of his family, depend infinitely more upon the condition of public affairs than upon his own personal qualities and actions. The fact is beginning to receive recognition that the greatest efforts of the individual are powerless against evils that lie in the very condition of things, and that determine his state. On the other hand, the struggle for existence now requires much greater efforts than before. Demands are now made upon man that engage ever more his time and strength. The ignorant, indifferent wife stands dumb before him, and feels herself neglected. It may be even said that, the mental difference between man and woman is to-day greater than formerly, when the opportunities for both were slight and limited, and lay more within the reach of her restricted intellect. Furthermore, the handling of public affairs occupies to-day a large number of men to a degree before unknown; this widens their horizon; but it also withdraws them ever more from the mental sphere of their homes. The wife deems herself set back, and thus another source of friction is started. Only rarely does the husband know how to pacify his wife and convince her. When he does that, he has escaped a dangerous rock. As a rule the husband is of the opinion that what he wants does not concern his wife, she does not understand it. He takes no pains to enlighten her. "You don't understand such matters," is his stereotyped answer, the moment the wife complains that she is neglected. Lack of information on the part of wives is promoted by lack of sense on the part of most husbands. More favorable relations between husband and wife spring up in the rank of the working class in the measure that both realize they are tugging at the same rope, and that there is but one means towards satisfactory conditions for themselves and their family,—the radical reformation of society that shall make human beings of them all. In the measure that such insight gains ground among the wives of the proletariat, then, despite want and misery, their married life is *idealized*: both now have a common aim, after which they strive; and they have an inexhaustible source of mutual encouragement in the mutual interchange of views, whereto their joint battle leads them. The number of proletarian women who reach this insight is every year larger. Herein lies a movement, that is in process of development, and that is fraught with decisive significance for the future of mankind.

In other social strata, the differences in education and views—easily overlooked at the beginning of married life, when passion still predominates—are felt ever more with ripening years. Sexual passion cools off, and its substitution with harmony of thought is all the more needful. But, leaving aside whether the husband has any idea of civic duties and attends to the same, he, at any rate, thanks to his occupation and constant intercourse with the outer world, comes into continuous touch with different elements and opinions, on all sorts of occasions, and thus floats into an intellectual atmosphere that broadens his horizon. As a rule, and in contrast with his wife, he finds himself in a state of intellectual molting, while she, on the contrary, due to her household duties, which engage her early and late, is robbed of leisure for further education, and, accordingly, becomes mentally stunted and soured.

The domestic wretchedness in which the majority of wives live to-day, is correctly depicted by the bourgeois-minded Gerhard von Amyntor in his "Marginal Notes to the Book of Life."[28] In the chapter entitled "Deadly Gnat-bites" he says among other things:

"Not the shocking events, that none remain unvisited by, and that bring, here the death of a husband, yonder the moral downfall of a beloved child; that lie, here in a long and serious illness, yonder in the wrecking of a warmly nursed plan;—not these undermine her (the housewife's) freshness and strength. It is the small, daily-recurring marrow and bone-gnawing cares. . . . How many millions of brave little house-mothers cook and scour away their vigor of life, their very cheeks and roguish dimples, in attending to domestic cares until they become crumpled, dried and broke-up mummies. The ever-recurring question, what shall be cooked to-day? the ever-recurring necessity of sweeping, and beating, and brushing, and dusting is the continuously falling drop that slowly, but surely, wears away mind and body. The kitchen-hearth is the place where the saddest balances are drawn up between income and expense, where the most depressing observations are forced upon the mind on the rising dearness of the necessaries of life, and on the ever increasing difficulty to earn the needed cash. On the flaming altar, where the soup kettle bubbles, youth and mental ease, beauty and good humor are sacrificed; and who recognizes in the old care-bent cook, the one-time blooming, overbearing, coy-coquette bride in the array of her myrtle crown? Already in antiquity the hearth was sacred, near it were placed the Lares and patron dieties. Let us also hold sacred the hearth at which the dutiful German bourgeois house-wife dies a slow death, in order to keep the house comfortable, the table covered and the family in health." Such is the consolation offered in bourgeois society to the wife, who, under the present order of society, is miserably going to pieces.

Those women, who, thanks to their social condition, find themselves in a freer state, have, as a rule, a one-sided, superficial education, that, combined with inherited female characteristics, manifests itself with force. They generally have a taste for mere superficialities; they think only about gew-gaws and dress; and thus they seek their mission in the satisfaction of a spoiled taste, and the indulgence of passions that demand their pay with usury. In their children and the education of these they have hardly any interest: they give them too much trouble and annoyance, hence are left to the nurses and servants, and are later passed on to the boarding-schools. At any rate their principal task is to raise their daughters as show-dolls, and their sons as pupils for the *jeunesse dore* (gilded youth) out of which dudedom recruits its ranks—that despicable class of men that may be fairly put upon a level with procurers. This *jeunesse dore* furnishes the chief contingent to the seducers of the daughters of the working class. They look upon idleness and squandering as a profession.

CHAPTER II.

FURTHER CHECKS AND OBSTRUCTIONS TO MARRIAGE—NUMERICAL PROPORTION OF THE SEXES—ITS CAUSES AND EFFECTS.

Cast in the mold of the conditions above described, many a feature of woman's character took shape, and they reached ever fuller development from generation to generation. Of these features men love to dwell with predelection, but they forget that they are themselves the cause thereof, and have promoted with their conduct the defects they now make merry about, or censure. Among these widely censured female qualities, belong her dreaded readiness of tongue, and passion for gossip; her inclination to endless talk over trifles and unimportant things; her mental bent for purely external matters, such as dress, and her desire to please, together with a resulting proneness to all the follies of fashion; lastly, her easily arousable envy and jealousy of the other members of her sex.

These qualities, though in different degrees, manifest themselves generally in the female sex from early childhood. They are qualities that are born under the pressure of social conditions, and are further developed by heredity, example and education. A being irrationally brought up, can not bring up others rationally.

In order to be clear on the causes and development of good or bad qualities, whether with the sexes or with whole peoples, the same methods must be pursued that modern natural science applies in order to ascertain the formation and development of life according to genus and species, and to determine their qualities. They are the laws that flow from the material conditions for life, laws that life demands, that adapt themselves to it, and finally became its nature.

Man forms no exception to that which holds good in Nature for all animate creation. Man does not stand outside of Nature: looked at physiologically, he is the most highly developed animal,—a fact, however, that some would deny. Thousands of years ago, although wholly ignorant of modern science, the ancients had on many matters affecting man, more rational views than the moderns; above all, they gave practical application to the views founded on experience. We praise with enthusiastic admiration the beauty and strength of the men and women of Greece; but the fact is overlooked that, not the happy climate, nor the bewitching nature of a territory that stretched along the bay-indented sea, but the physical culture and maxims of education, consistently enforced by the State, thus affected both the being and the development of the population. These measures were calculated to combine beauty, strength and suppleness of body with wit and elasticity of mind, both of which were transmitted to the descendants. True enough, even then, in comparison with man, woman was neglected in point of mental, but not of corporal culture.[1] In Sparta, that went furthest in the corporal culture of the two sexes, boys and girls went naked until the age of puberty, and participated in common in the exercises of the body, in games and in wrestling. The naked exposure of the human body, together with the natural treatment of natural things, had the advantage that sensuous excitement—to-day artificially cultivated by the separation of the sexes from early childhood—was then prevented. The corporal make-up of one sex, together with its distinctive organs, was no secret to the other. There, no play of equivocal words could arise. Nature was Nature. The one sex rejoiced at the beauty of the other. Mankind will have to return to Nature and to the natural intercourse of the sexes; it must cast off the now-ruling and unhealthy spiritual notions concerning man; it must do that by setting up methods of education that fit in with our own state of culture, and that may bring on the physical and mental regeneration of the race.

Among us, and especially on the subject of female education, seriously erroneous conceptions are still prevalent. That woman also should have strength, courage and resolution, is considered heretical, "unwomanly," although none would dare deny that, equipped with such qualities, woman could protect herself against many ills and inconveniences. Conversely, woman is cramped in her physical, exactly as in her intellectual development. The irrationalness of her dress plays an important *role* herein. It not only, unconscionably hampers her in her physique, it directly ruins her;—and yet, but few physicians dare take a stand against the abuse, accurately informed though they are on the injuriousness of her dress. The fear of displeasing the patient often causes them to hold their tongues, if they do not even flatter her insane notions. Modern dress hinders woman in the free use of her limbs, it injures her physical growth, and awakens in her a sense of impotence and weakness. Moreover, modern dress is a positive danger to her own and the health of those who surround her: in the house and on the street, woman is a walking raiser of dust. And likewise is the development of woman hampered by the strict separation of the sexes, both in social intercourse and at school—a method of education wholly in keeping with the spiritual ideas that Christianity has deeply implanted in us on all matters that regard the nature of man.

The woman who does not reach the development of her faculties, who is crippled in her powers, who is held imprisoned in the narrowest circle of thought, and who comes into contact with hardly any but her own female relatives,—such a woman can not possibly raise herself above the routine of daily life and habits. Her intellectual horizon revolves only around the happenings in her own immediate surroundings, family affairs and what thereby hangs. Extensive conversations on utter trifles, the bent for gossip, are promoted with all might; of course her latent intellectual qualities strain after activity and exercise;—whereupon the husband, often involved thereby in trouble, and driven to desperation, utters imprecations upon qualities that he, the "chief of creation," has mainly upon his own conscience.

With woman—whose face all our social and sexual relations turn toward marriage with every fibre of her being—marriage and matrimonial matters constitute, quite naturally, a leading portion of her conversation and aspirations. Moreover, to the physically weaker woman, subjected as she is to man by custom and laws, the tongue is her principal weapon against him, and, as a matter of course, she makes use thereof. Similarly with regard to her severely censured passion for dress and desire to please, which reach their frightful acme in the insanities of fashion, and often throw fathers and husbands into great straits and embarrassments. The explanation lies at hand. To man, woman is, first of all, an object of enjoyment. Economically and socially unfree, she is bound to see in marriage her means of support; accordingly, she depends upon man and becomes a piece of property to him. As a rule, her position is rendered still more unfavorable through the general excess of women over men,—a subject that will be treated more closely. The disparity intensifies the competition of women among themselves; and it is sharpened still more because, for a great variety of reasons, a number of men do not marry at all. Woman is, accordingly, forced to enter into competition for a husband with the members of her own sex, by means of the most favorable external presentation of her person possible.

Let the long duration, through many generations, of these evils be taken into account. The wonder will cease that these manifestations, sprung from equally lasting causes, have reached their present extreme form. Furthermore, perhaps in no age was the competition of women for husbands as sharp as it is in this, due partly to reasons already given, and partly to others yet to be discussed. Finally, the difficulties of obtaining a competent livelihood, as well as the demands made by society, combine, more than ever before, to turn woman's face towards matrimony as an "institute for support."

Men gladly accept such a state of things: they are its beneficiaries. It flatters their pride, their vanity, their interest to play the *role* of the stronger and the master; and, like all other rulers, they are, in their *role* of masters, difficult to reach by reason. It is, therefore, all the more in the interest of woman to warm towards the establishment of conditions that shall free her from so unworthy a position. Women should expect as little help from the men as workingmen do from the capitalist class.

Observe the characteristics, developed in the struggle for the coveted place, on other fields, on the industrial field, for instance, so soon as the capitalists face each other. What despicable, even scampish, means of warfare are not resorted to! What hatred, envy and passion for calumny are not awakened!—observe that, and the explanation stands out why similar features turn up in the competition of women for a husband. Hence it happens that women, on the average, do not get along among themselves as well as men; that even the best female friends lightly fall out, if the question is their standing in a man's eye, or pleasingness of appearance. Hence also the observation that wherever women meet, be they ever such utter strangers, they usually look at one another as enemies. With one look they make the mutual discovery of ill-matched colors, or wrongly-pinned bows, or any other similar cardinal sin. In the look that they greet each other with, the judgment can be readily read that each has passed upon the other. It is as if each wished to inform the other: "I know better than you how to dress, and draw attention upon myself."

On the other hand, woman is by nature more impulsive than man; she reflects less than he; she has more abnegation, is naiver, and hence is governed by stronger passions, as revealed by the truly heroic self-sacrifice with which she protects her child, or cares for relatives, and nurses them in sickness. In the fury, however, this passionateness finds its ugly expression. But the good as well as the bad sides, with man as well as woman, are influenced, first of all, by their social position; favored, or checked, or transfigured. The same impulse, that, under unfavorable circumstances, appears as a blemish, is, under favorable circumstances, a source of happiness for oneself and others. Fourier has the credit of having brilliantly demonstrated how the identical impulses of man produce, under different conditions, wholly opposite results.

Running parallel with the effects of mistaken education, are the no less serious effects of mistaken or imperfect physical culture upon the purpose of Nature. All physicians are agreed that the preparation of woman for her calling as mother and rearer of children leaves almost everything to be wished. "Man exercises the soldier in the use of his weapons, and the artisan in the handling of his tools; every office requires special studies; even the monk has his novitiate. Woman alone is not trained for her serious duties of mother."[2] Nine-tenths of the maidens who marry enter matrimony with almost utter ignorance about motherhood and the duties of wedlock. The inexcusable shyness, even on the part of mothers, to speak with a grown-up daughter of such important sexual duties, leaves the latter in the greatest darkness touching her duties towards herself and her future husband. With her entrance upon married life, woman enters a territory that is wholly strange to her. She has drawn to herself a fancy-picture thereof—generally from novels that are not particularly to be commended—that does not accord with reality.[3] Her defective household knowledge, that, as things are to-day, is inevitable, even though many a function, formerly naturally belonging to the wife, has been removed from her, also furnishes many a cause for friction. Some know nothing whatever of household matters: They consider themselves too good to bother about them, and look upon them as matters that concern the servant girl; numerous others, from the ranks of the masses, are prevented, by the struggle for existence, from cultivating themselves for their calling as householders: they must be in the factory and at work early and late. It is becoming evident that, due to the development of social conditions, the separate household system is losing ground every day; and that it can be kept up only at the sacrifice of money and time, neither of which the great majority is able to expend.

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[25] "Geschichte und Gefahren der Fruchtabtreibung." Dr. Ed. Reich, Leipsic, 1893.

[26] "The child conceived during marriage has the husband for father."

[27] "Das buergerliche Recht und die besitzlosen Klassen," Tuebingen, 1890.

[28] Sam. Lucas, Elberfeld.

[1] Plato requires in his "Republic" that "the women be educated like the men," and he demands careful selection in breeding. He, accordingly, was thoroughly familiar with the effect of a careful selection on the development of man. Aristotle lays it down as a maxim of education that "First the body, then the mind must be built up," Aristotle's "Politics." With us, when thought is at all bestowed upon the matter, the body, the scaffolding for the intellect, is considered last.

[2] "Die Mission unseres Jahrhunderts. Eine Studie zur Frauenfrage," Irma v. Troll-Borostyani; Pressburg and Leipsic.

[3] In "Les Femmes Qui Tuent et les Femmes Qui Votent," Alexander Dumas, son, narrates: "A Catholic clergyman of high standing stated in the course of a conversation that, out of a hundred of his former female pupils, who married, after a month at least eighty came to him and said they were disillusioned and regretted having married." This sounds very probable. The Voltarian French bourgeoisie reconcile it with their conscience to allow their daughters to be educated in the cloisters. They proceed from the premises that an ignorant woman is more easy to lead than one who is posted. Conflicts and disappointment are inevitable. Laboulaye gives the flat-footed advice to keep woman in moderate ignorance, because "notre empire est detruit, si l'homme est reconnu" (our empire is over if the man is found out).

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
IN 1902	**53,617**

"ON THE ROARING BILLOWS," OR "TALKING IT OVER."

Several months ago, an out-bound steamer from New York had among its passengers two gentlemen—Lawrence Murphy and John Black. They were friends going to the same destination. They were always together, and always in close conversation. It so happened that on the same steamer there was a Marconi wireless telegraphic apparatus. It was being shipped to England. It also so happened that Murphy and Black, by mere accident and unknowingly, chose for their conversation a secluded spot that was quite close to the said wireless telegraphic apparatus, which, to complete the series of accidental circumstances, happened to be boxed in such poor material that there was a wide rent in the wood on the side facing the spot where Murphy and Black habitually exchanged thoughts. When the apparatus was opened in England, the sensitive plates were found scribbled all over with sound waves. These were easily deciphered, but they conveyed no intelligent information; they were bits and scraps of conversations, interesting enough, even mysterious, but unintelligible. These bits and scraps might have proceeded from the same persons, and they might not; if from the same persons, they might have been fragments of one continuous dialogue, the continuity of which on the plate may have been interrupted by slight atmospheric changes during the conversation, or by the speakers happening to turn their faces from the direction of the plates during their dialogue. All the same, the mysterious bits and scraps were preserved as a purely "scientific experiment," and nothing more was thought of them by the one-sidedly informed wireless scientists, who did not perceive that those bits and scraps of conversation, fractional though they were, threw valuable light on the "Labor Movement," on sociology.

The mystery is now raised. One Lawrence Murphy, ex-treasurer of the Journeymen Stonecutters' Union, is now on trial on the charge of grand larceny in the Court of General Sessions. The charge is that he stole $12,000 from the treasury of his union. The facts, figures, etc., that are coming out fit in exactly with the bits and scraps of conversations preserved by the wireless telegraphic plates on the out-bound steamer that several months ago carried passengers Lawrence Murphy and John Black to Europe. Passenger Murphy is the same Murphy now on trial. Joining the bits and scraps together they present a continuous story, many important points of which are now attested by by the revelations of the trial. The story is thrilling enough for yellow covers, and it throws a matchless limelight on important sections of the Labor Movement in America. Leaving out the profanity, which is simply indicated in dashes, the dialogue is reproduced below under the title:

"ON THE ROARING BILLOWS," or "TALKING IT OVER."

[N.B. The only insertions here made are "M" which stands for Murphy and "B" which stands for Black. These initials, of course, did not appear on the wireless telegraphic plates. But they are inserted to help the reader understand the conversation. For the rest, the context sufficiently indicates when it is that Murphy speaks and when Black.]

M.—I got the dough in me pocket.

B.—The whole of it?

M.—Not all I hoped to squeeze from the contractors. Only $10,000. I also had to drop a couple of hundred in New York to keep some of them fellows' traps shut. But I have almost $10,000 left, and that will do, John. We'll have a —— of a good time in England and Ireland. When 'tis up I'll return to New York and make another haul.

B.—The wonder to me is how you do it.

M.—Dead easy; yes, —— —— easy. 'Tis this way, see: When men apply for admission to our union we takes in only as many as we need to make a good appearance. Then we puts up a stiff initiation fee. That keeps rafts of others out.

B.—But does the rank and file allow that?

M.—Keep your shirt on, will ye? You will see how we fix 'em.

B.—Who is "we" and who is "them?"

M.—You are bloody blind. "We" means the principal officers of the union and two or three dummies of the rank and file who are needed on the floor to raise a row or raise "points of order," when some of the others are getting too fresh, and to move to "lay it on the table" when some —— —— impudent motion is made by some —— —— —— —— of a freshy who wants his fingers in the pie, or by some —— —— — — — — of a Socialist Labor Party man, who smells a rat (I tell you, these S. L. P. men have sharp noses!) and wants to expose us. They call us "fakirs," the — — —.

B.—They are — — —!

M.—Well, those are "we": all the others, rank and file and some few dunderhead officers are "them." See?

B.—I see.

M.—Well, where did I break off? Oh, yes. When more men apply for admission to the union than is convenient——

B.—In what way "convenient?"

M.—Shut up! You will understand if you keep that trap of yours closed ten minutes. If more apply than is CONVENIENT, we raises the initiation. If they are ready to pay that, we raises the initiation still higher. If still anyone will pay that, we simply gets one of our dummies on the floor to move to "shut the door," and then none more is admitted.

B.—But in what way does that help you?

M.— — —, won't you wait? When we has a whole lot of fellows out of the union, and work enough for all the members, and more hands are wanted, these outside fellows gets work from the building contractors, and we shut our eyes. We grumble, but don't do more.

B.—I don't see what you are driving at.

M.—You'll see soon enough. Then on some fine day, when we knows a contractor is particularly hard crowded by some other contractors, and he would do anything to avoid trouble and not fill his contract, up we marches, a committee of us, and see the contractor. Do you begin to see now?

B.—I'll be —— if I do.

M.—You must be — — dull. We, the committee—we always calls ourselves "the committee" in such cases—we marches up to the contractor, and we lays before him a sheet of paper neatly executed. On that sheet, we usually gets some hungry and thirsty Social Democratic leader to write up that sheet and give him a quarter, or maybe a dollar and a drink for his pains.

B.—Who are these Social Democrats?

M.—Don't you know? I'll tell you presently. Well, we shows the sheet to the contractor. On that sheet he reads black on white, dates and all, that on such and such days he employed non-union men, and how many of them. We then shows him the union by-law, or the clause in the agreement with him providing for a fine in such cases. So many non-union men employed; so much fine on each; rest is easy multiplication. See?

B.—Yes. A —— fine plan!

M.—Now you see why 'tis CONVENIENT to keep rafts of men outside of the union?

B.—Yes, by —— I see. —— CONVENIENT!

M.—You bet. The more fellows we keep out, the more of these fellows the contractor is bound to employ. And that means bigger fines for "We, Us & Co."

B.—And the contractor planks down the currency?

M.—Occasionally he refuses; then we strike.

B.—But the men on strike—don't they suffer hardships?

M.—To —— with them! There is where the Social Democrats come in handy. At one time the Volks Zeitung Corporation was run by the Socialist Labor Party, and then we got it in the neck hard and heavy. I remember, it was in March and April of 1899 when something of that sort was tried by the Marble Polishers' Union. "The People," the English organ of the Socialist Labor Party, which was then published by the corporation soaked it into us. Lord, how it lashed us. We bribed the corporation to silence "The People," but the — — paper wouldn't be muzzled. We then managed to get the "Volks Zeitung" to take our part, and I'll be — if that "People" didn't turn its guns on the "Volks Zeitung," too, and rip it up fore and aft. We then pulled together to help the Corporation capture "The People" and smash up the Socialist Labor Party. We furnished it with men from Klein's Union. You know Klein, the Tammany office-holder? But we failed. Our men and the Corporation's men were beaten back; it was on July 10, 1899; and that — — paper has kept up its war against us and even became a daily paper to hit us all the more frequently. But we gained something. The "Volks Zeitung" Corporation emancipated itself from the Socialist Labor Party, started an English paper of its own, got up a new party, the Social Democratic Party, and its men stands by us. Some gets part of the swag, others are mere asses—Hanford, for instance, in his Typographical Union. He was a S. L. P. man and dead against us, joined the Volks Zeitung Corporation party and got and kept for quite a while a fat job from the officers of his union. The two papers of the Corporation and the men of its party hold up our end. When we declare one of these strikes and the rank and file is thrown out of work and kept out until we got our fines colected from the contractor, the Volks Zeitung Corporation, through its two papers and the men of its party, calls it a 'noble waging of the class struggle.' This costs us money, sometimes a good deal, but it helps Us & Co. and softens the lashings we gets from "The People," and the Social Democrats in our unions even help us to drown the outcry against us raised by the S. L. P. men, and while the two fight we have somewhat a clear field. If only the S. L. P. could be killed the coast would be entirely clear.

B.—Quite a scheme, — —.

M.—And so this time our committee demanded from the Master Builders of Brooklyn $50,000 as fines.

B.—$50,000!

M.—But it was no go. It was impossible to get that. We came down to $40,000, to $25,000, to $13,000, and finally to $10,000. That we got as fines for the non-union men that we barred from the union. Ha! ha!

B.—That's the — — smartest scheme. 'Tis decidedly INCONVENIENT to admit all the men of the trade into the union. It is decidedly CONVENIENT, — —, so to have a good number of them out.

M.—You bet! We has, in the aggregate, collected $200,000 from the contractors as fines under the threat of a strike for their employing non-union men. Ha! ha! ha! To — with the rank and file! We 'nobly wages the class struggle," we does, on the backs of the rank and file!

B. and M.—Ha! ha! ha!

Here the snatches of the dialogue preserved by the out-bound wireless telegraphic plates end. The sound waves became blurred in the hilarity of the speakers.

Murder will out. If the scientists who handled those plates did not know enough to see the point, conditions in New York—political and economic—have brought on Murphy's trial, and that is bringing out the facts, which tally with the statements in the dialogue above reproduced, and which that dialogue helps to clarify.

WHICH IS WHICH?

This is what Marshall I. Boardman, S. J. ("S. J." stands for Member of the Society of Jesus; in other words, a militant Jesuit member of the Roman Catholic hierarchy; in other words, a leader in thought with that hierarchy;), treats the faithful and the public to on the subject of social science in the "Denver Catholic" of the 27th of last month:

> "Under Socialism a board of overseers would keep the general stores and deal out goods in weight and number. Another board would dictate what each man and woman should wear; the quality of the hat, the cut of the coat and the color of the hose. Another board would dictate where each man should live, what occupation he should follow, what he should eat and what he should read, what he should think and how he should serve God. The boards would elect or reject those who apply for professions, determine who should be physicians, who storekeepers, who farmers, who grave diggers and who dog catchers, and there could be no appeal as against the board."

Another militant and leader in thought in the same hierarchy, Cardinal Prisco, almost on the same date, treats the faithful and the public to this interesting bit of information on natural science:

> "Rome, July 9.—Cardinal Prisco of Naples, telegraphs that, owing to the illness of Pope Leo, recourse has been had to the extreme measure of bringing out the blood of St. Gennaro. The blood of the Saint is contained in a vial in a petrified form, and turns into liquid and boils when the Saint condescends to intervene. The Cardinal reports that the blood took a liquid form to-day in the presence of a large concourse."

Which is which?

CHEATING OLD AGE.

There is an association known by the name of Ancient Order of United Workmen. It is a mutual benefit and insurance concern. Its name and its promises would lead one to expect good things from it. Now, approach and look.

The Supreme Lodge, in its wisdom and by the power vested in it, has changed the plan of classification and the schedule of yearly costs. According to the change, all the grades but one, the youngest age period, have increased dues to pay, and the increases are so arranged that they weigh out of all proportion heavily upon the older members. While, for instance, the members of the sixth grade (between 45-49 years) pay on $1000 an increase yearly assessment of 72 cents, and on $2000 an increase yearly assessment of $1.44, the members 55 years and over, now shoved off into the eighth grade, and who formerly paid in the seventh grade, now have to pay an advance of $26.40 on $1000, and an advande of $52.80 on $2000 over the previous plan.

What does this heavy increase inflicted upon the aged members of the order mean if not a fine imposed upon them for having lived so long? What is it but a cheating, or attempted cheating of old age? What is it but an aping of the swindling capitalist concerns, which, after having collected their premiums, seek to escape the obligation of paying insurance? In short, what is it but the lie given by the Supreme Lodge to the name of the order, showing it to be neither "united" nor for "woringmen"?

It is well known, and the census figures prove it, that the death rate has increased in almost all trades. The intensity with which the workmen are worked saps their vitality and leads them to early graves. The grim proverb—"When a workman has reached his forty-second year take him out and shoot him: he is too played out to be of any use, and too poor to keep himself"—sums up the situation. The currency that the proverb has gained proves its correctness. What, in view of such facts, should be expected of an order of workmen? Surely at least consideration for those of its own members who have grown old in it. The Supreme Lodge of the Ancient Order of United Workmen takes exactly the opposite course. By making such a savage advance on the insurance of its oldest members it seeks to shove them off; to make it so hard that they stop paying altogether, and then their previously paid dues are wholly lost to them; or to put them in such fix that at their death big chunks can be deducted from the sum they insured for under the pretext of covering up deficits in dues.

Such, substantially, are the principles from which capitalists proceed in their treatment of workman. The capitalist uses up the workman when he is a "hustler" (young), but casts him off as "deadwood" when he is old. The capitalist thus cheats old age. And that is the plan of the Supreme Lodge of an order that claims to be of, for and by workmen.

THE "MILLER SYNDICATE" LEGALIZED.

In January of this year the gulls of the land were transfixed with joy. Glimpses of the millennium fell upon the retina of their minds' eye. It was better than of the millennium. The millennium is charming, but yet it lacks the pleasurable element of a "solution." The millennium sounds like the bliss of an after-world. Human nature clings to the pleasures of this world. The glimpses of what they saw were of this world. The "struggle" and the "individualism"—both so dear to the gulls' heart—were to be retained, and yet happiness was to be secured. The Socialist contention that the Socialist Republic was the only solution of the modern social problem was knocked into a cocked hat. The solution had been found. Profit-sharing had been tried and found wanting. The reason was that the scheme proceeded from smaller capitalist sources. Now it came down as if from heaven. A Billion Trust had introduced a plan. Presto, happiness on earth had dawned!

The Billion Trust in question was the United States Steel Corporation—the Carnegie-Morgan concern. None more powerful. It was to solve the trouble. Its employees were not merely to "share," they were to be part owners, partners. Twenty-five thousand (25,000) shares of the U. S. Steel preferred stock was to be placed at their disposal. They were not to be treated as beggars; the stock was not to be given to them. They were to buy it in. They were to buy it below par—$82.50 for every share of the par value of $100. And they were to pay in installments, all the while drawing their 7 per cent. annual dividends. President Shaffer boomed the idea as "a good thing;" the capitalist papers boomed it as "a stroke of genius;" the capitalist pulpiteers boomed it as "a foretaste of the Messianic Age;" the politicians boomed it as a "triumph of Americanism;" the official professors boomed it as "a product of their teachings;" Gompers boomed it as "one of the golden apples plucked by trades unionism pure and simple"—and so on. With all these tin kettles rattling, what else could happen but that the bees did swarm—that is, the employees of the Steel Trust bit; they bit quick; they bit hard. The 25,000 shares were bought up by them at $82.50. That was in January.

When the curtain rises again a different sight faces the audience. A great scurrying of feet, suppressed mutterings, muffled oaths, things that sounded like blows and knockdowns had been heard behind the curtain. But, of course, that all must have been a mistake. Such things are incompatible with millenniums and solutions; the sounds were dismissed. But the curtain did rise; it rose this month, that is, six months later. And this is the tableau that it rose upon. The stock, bought in six months previous at $2.50 by the "profit-sharing" and "partner" employees, had dropped to 76, and was headed toward a still lower months the employees had pocketed the two quarterly dividends of 1¾ each, altogether $3.50, and in the same interval they had lost on each share they held $6.50—net "profits" shared, a clean loss of $3 on each share.

No wonder there had been noises behind the curtains. The more shares an employee held the more money he was figure. In other words, during those six out of pocket—and worse is in store. The Trust could well afford to pay, and did gladly, self-sacrificingly pay out, $3.50 and rake in $6.50 every time. It would not object to keep up this business indefinitely—no more would the Miller Syndicate.

What capitalist would not be a "profit sharer?"

PETER, THOU HAST SAID IT.

The below article appeared—well—"somewhere." That will do for the present. The occasion for it is the freshest revelations that are being made in court in this city of Labor Fakir corruption, where it is being established that strikes have been declared by the fakirs when the treasury of the Union was too low to pay their salaries, the strike being simply a means for the fakirs to blackmail the employer while the rank and file was duped and hungered on strike. The article is rather long, but it would not do to mutilate it. Here it is:

> Common sense would seem to show that the labor unions must presently rid themselves of their parasites. It is inconceivable that they should permit themselves to be exploited, at their own expense, for the aggrandizement of the sharp-witted rogues who have gained the ascendancy in their management. It is not in human nature to stand it; and there is as much human nature in labor organizations as there is in any other coalitions of men for a common end.
>
> When men quit work because they consider their wages to be insufficient or because they think they can, by doing so, get higher wages, they are well within their rights. When they quit work ostensibly for either of these reasons, but really only because their leader or walking delegate has not received a thousand dollars which he demanded as the price of their remaining at work, they are fools. They remain idle; the employer weakens and gives in; the walking delegate gets his thousand dollars; they return to work and the cause of organized labor is vindicated. They never question the pretext upon which they have been ordered to quit work; when the unfortunate employer tells them that the object of the strike has been to blackmail him they do not believe him; their faith in the walking delegate is unshakable.
>
> It has been discovered that there is money, and a great deal of money, in the faculty of ordering strikes. The power of the labor leader is absolute and despotic and he has found how to turn it to account. And it is not only his power to stop work that is profitable. There are many other things that he can do to oppress and injure an employer, and he makes it pay him to refrain from doing those things. Employers have learned that they can enjoy a great deal of latitude in the conduct of their business if they pay the walking delegate. They can employ non-union hands; they can use non-union material; they can dispense with the trades-union label; they can do an infinitude of things that unionism prohibits, but they must first pay the walking delegate.
>
> Does an employer desire to injure a rival employer, or to take away from him an advantage he enjoys, or otherwise to defeat him in the successful prosecution of his business, he can do so by paying the walking delegate. A strike will be ordered and the men will go out. The walking delegate will pocket the cash and the men will go without their wages, or, in times of great business activity, be sent to work elsewhere until the man they have left sees the light of reason and in turn pays the walking delegate to have them sent back to him.
>
> Does the owner of a patent labor-saving device of extensive use in the trades fear an attempt to introduce a rival device, he calls to his aid the walking delegate of the trade and forthwith insuperable difficulties attend the introduction and sale of that rival device. Formerly, ignorant workmen, finding themselves displaced by labor-saving machinery, visited the workshop and smashed the machines. Nowadays the walking delegate attends to all that. The men are displaced just the same, but there is no destruction of property and it is much cheaper to pay the walking delegate. As the trustee of the interests of labor he has something to sell, and if the employer is not sharp enough to see that it is to his interest to buy he will speedily have his lesson taught him.
>
> In seasons of intense competition in the building trade, or in lines of parallel enterprise, the contractor who can complete his contract on time is at a great advantage. It counts for a great deal to be known as a clever man who has no trouble with his labor. So, conversely, it is a bad thing to have strikes, to bear the stigma of one who is always having difficulties with his workingmen. In the ruthless letting of contracts these and like considerations are most weighty. The walking delegate will not only hold the wise and liberal contractor scatheless of strikes on his own work but he will see to it that a rival contractor has strikes a-plenty and delays interminable. Then again when labor, skilled labor, is scarce and there is not enough of it to go around the wise contractor has a strike called on enough of his rival's work to give him all the hands he wants.
>
> Out of all this organized labor gets nothing but disrepute and loss of wages. The union has to bear the odium and the expense—not the contractor's expense, but the loss, and it is often very great, of the money that would have come in from steady work. The contractor's loss is as great, or greater, but that need concern no one. He is only a capitalist.
>
> It has come about, however, that men on strike, men idle because their labor leader has ordered them to quit work, are beginning to think of all these things and to scrutinize the reason alleged for ordering them out. They are getting suspicious. They see their walking delegates getting rich, for not all the walking delegates are shrewd and prudent enough to conceal the evidence of affluence, and the men are becoming uneasy. They will presently be in revolt. The vast rank and file of organized labor is honest, is self-respecting and must inevitably react against imposition. It will rebel on principle, because individually it is honest, if, collectively, it lacks the sentiment of honesty.
>
> Undoubtedly, many walking delegates are corrupt and dishonest. But they are not, after all, any more so than some of those in other walks of life who misuse power conferred on them. The men who are intrusted with the enforcement of the laws and administer their offices for private gain, do not materially differ from the corrupt labor leaders. The one allows the evasion of the law for money and the other sells his power and control over labor for cash.
>
> It is all very well to say that the corrupt walking delegate should be sent to the penitentiary; that the most condign and merciless punishment should be visited upon the man who throws thousands out of employment to gratify his own selfish and infamous ambition. But what about the wealthy contractor, the opulent corporation, which equally shares in that walking delegate's corruption? Is not the corrupter more guilty than the man corrupted? Does he not stand upon a higher plane in the social scale, and is not his responsibility to the body corporate the greater?
>
> For our part we would much rather an example be made of the capitalist or of the representative of capital who used union labor as a tool to his shameless ends than that the law should wreak its vengeance only on the rogues and sharpers of low degree who betray the labor unions for money. The remedy lies in a great measure with these unions themselves. If they will exercise a little care in the selection of their leaders and be less prone to prefer smartness to character and glibness of speech to proved integrity, they will no longer be plundered as they are now, and they will have, as they ought to have, a better name and standing in the social structure.

Here are eleven interesting paragraphs. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth look as if they had been taken from the columns of this paper, and probably they were so taken. No other paper in this city has made those points before, while this paper has been making them right along, and right along backing them up with illustrations, fresh from the oven of capitalist and fakir corruption.

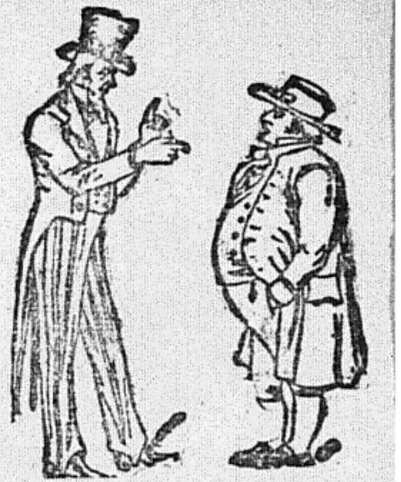
The People, and Socialist Labor Party literature have demonstrated that (as set forth in the third paragraph) employers can enjoy any amount of latitude in breaking Union rules, provided the labor fakir officer is paid. If paid he will be a diligent and indulgent handmaid of scabbery,—of course to the injury of the rank and file. The People and Socialist Labor Party literature have demonstrated that (as set forth in the fourth and sixth paragraphs) strikes are part of the weapons that competing capitalists use against one another to annoy, harass and, if possible, ruin one another. This weapon can be easily bought from the fakir Union officer. Provided he is well paid by one employer, he scruples not to throw upon the street the men of his Union, working in a competing shop. He will pocket the pay, while his rank and file go without wages. The People and Socialist Labor Party literature have demonstrated that (as set forth in the fifth paragraph) owners of patent labor-saving devices will fight the owners of a rival device by buying a strike against establishments that introduce the rival device. Provided the fakir leader is paid, he will pick up a quarrel in such an establishment, declare a strike, order a boycott, assess the membership and call for donations "to aid organized labor in its just quarrel,"—all for his private gain while the rank and file bleed and cheer like dupes. This particular point was graphically illustrated in the recent "Sun" strike. And all these instances, together with many others, have ever been shown to (as set forth in the seventh paragraph) put the working class where it gets nothing but disrepute, loss of wages and assessments, while the fakir pockets the Judas pence. That much for paragraphs 3-7.

Paragraphs 9-11 are increasingly interesting. They resemble paragraphs 3-7 in that the substance of their contents has been the subject of many an article in this paper, and this paper only. More than once did The People argue that no less corrupt than these Labor Judases is the capitalist class who uses these men as its lieutenants for shameless ends at the severe loss of the working class. But paragraphs 9-11 have additional significance. Their special significance lies in the quarter from which they come. Now we may raise the veil and uncover the name of the publication in which the above string of paragraphs or article appeared. It was—well?—the New York "Sun," in other words, a capitalist concern that helped to strengthen the arm of these Labor Fakirs in that, as has been frequently stated, and never contradicted, paid $300,000 to be freed from a boycott imposed upon it by just such methods as are described in paragraph 5!

We may now fully accept paragraphs 1 and 2 with which the "Sun" article opens, and also its paragraph 8. Indeed, "human nature" will not stand for this sort of thing forever: indeed the "credulity of the rank and file" is at about the end of its tether; indeed they are growing suspicious and begin to see. And what is it they are seeing? That the Labor Fakir is a limb of capitalism, a "sharp-witted rogue," hard to distinguish from, aye, identical with the capitalist, and that to try and abolish the fakir while keeping the capitalist is like trying to abolish the shadow while preserving the thing that casts it. Still smarting of the $300,000 that it was bled of, and hoping that the fact is forgotten by others, the "Sun" now turns against those capitalists who are doing the same thing, and who—the truth be said—can not help doing it, corruption and the debanchery of morals for the shameless ends of lucre being the very breath in the nostrils of capitalism.

Peter—New York "Sun"—thou hast said it!—You are no better than the Fakir. Your class must go. When that hyena jaw—capitalist class—will have been smashed, its teeth—the Labor Fakir—will drop out. Those teeth can not drop out except by simultaneous blows from the shoulder against the jaw itself.

Aye, indeed, human nature will not tolerate the nuisance for aye.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I have discovered a flaw in Socialism.

UNCLE SAM—I am all ears; let me hear it.

B. J.—Does not Socialist philosophy teach that the machine does away with skill?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—Where no machine is used and the worker himself manages his tools he must be equipped with skill, experience, a practical hand and eye, and often with physical strength.—Is it not so?

U. S.—Exactly.

B. J.—The moment a machine is introduced into his trade it does away to some extent with all these qualities—skill, experience, practical hand, eye, etc.?

U. S.—Certainly.

B. J.—And as this process goes on we may look to the time when all those qualities may be essentially unnecessary, the pressing of a button being able to produce all that is wanted?

U. S.—You got it straight.

B. J.—This being thus, I find this flaw of Socialist teachings——

U. S.—(Puts both hands to his ears).

B. J.—Socialism claims that labor produces all wealth; that the increased wealth produced by machinery is not given to labor, and that lobar should have it all. Now, then, in view of the fact that labor does less and less work, exerts less and less skill, needs less and less vigor, experience, and so forth, I claim that Socialism is wrong to want that all the benefits of increased wealth brough on by machinery should fall to labor. What have you to say against that?

U. S. (taking down his hands)—Now, stand firm, because I am going to throw you—that is, your argument, heels over head.

B. J. spreads out his legs and braces himself up.

U. S.—Who produces the machine?

B. J.—Why-er-hem.

U. S.—Labor—intellectual labor. With here and there an exception, all the inventors, from Watts and Eli Whitney down, have died poor. Their invention was stolen by the capitalist class. You know that?

B. J.—Yes, that's true.

U. S.—Again. Granted that skill, etc., is more and more absorbed into the machine and rendered unnecessary in the workingman; still, whatever skill, experience or labor is yet left necessary is exercised by whom—the worker or the capitalist?

B. J.—The worker.

U. S.—The worker may exercise less skill, but the capitalist exercises none whatever; the same as before, he is and remains an idler.

B. J.—Hem, yes.

U. S.—Who is entitled to the wealth that comes out of the machine—the idelr, i. e., the capitalist, or he who does whatever work is needed to produce?

B. J.—The worker—hem—of course.

U. S.—You begin to look smashed. Now, to the last point. Suppose machinery has been so perfected that all the wealth one can want can be produced by the touching of buttons and that the idle, lazy, Seeley-dinner-giving capitalists would be willing to do that much work, would it follow from that the class which produced the machine does not own it?—it having been stolen from it by capitalists, should starve because its work has become wholly superflous, and that the class that did not produce the machine should enjoy it because it holds that stolen property?

B. J.—That were wrong indeed.

U. S.—Socialism maintains that the class that does the work should enjoy the fruits. It also maintains that if that the fruits. It also maintains that if that class is kept down to a minimum of wealth the result would be the inhuman one of exterminating it.

B. J.—I begin to see.

U. S.—So, then, if you want to be consistent and deny to the worker the increase of wealth because of the diminished skill he needs, you must also deny that increase and all wealth to the capitalists, who exercise no skill or productive work whatever.

B. J.—I yield; I am overthrown.

U. S.—In that case the increased wealth would have to be dumped into the sea or left to rot.

B. J.—I throw up my hands.

U. S.—You had better. There is no flaw in Socialism. Whatever wealth there is in the land to-day is the product of labor—to that labor it belongs wholly. The capitalist is entitled to nothing, because he produces nothing. The only thing he is entitled to at the hands of so humane a movement as Socialism is to be pitied and put in a house of correction to cleanse him of the immorality that breeds and is bred by parasitism.

"Smash the unions!" is the cry of certain capitalist sheets of this city anent the expose of fakir corruption. Better not be too "radical," Messrs. Capitalists. While no doubt the actions of the fakirs in bleeding you are very repugnant to your sensitive souls, don't forget the obligation you owe to these same fakirs for keeping the rank and file of the unions ignorant and demoralized in your interest. It will be a sorry day for you, Messrs. Capitalists, when the workers now held under by the labor fakirs cease to lick the hand that smites them and stop bending low on election day for you to mount to office over their backs.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, beside their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

An English View on the Progress of Socialism.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Inclosed find a copy of a letter which was sent from a "Socialist" in England to a friend of mine (a S. L. P. sympathizer) in this city. You have his permission to publish it if you are so inclined. I copied it myself exactly from the original, with underscores and quotation marks.

I notice the writer does not sign his name in full. I suspect he was ashamed for fear it might get into print.

This letter goes to show what a dirty, contemptible, rotten middle class movement will do to hoodwink our class. I told my friend to send him a copy of "Two Pages from Roman History." It will give him a good pointer on municipal ownership and also lower his estimation of duchesses and earls, etc.

Hoping this letter will reach you safely, I remains yours for the fighting S. L. P., Bert Jacobson.

114 Fifth avenue south, Seattle, Wash., July 12, 1903.

Mr. S. Craig: Dear Friend—Having a few minutes to spare I decided to answer your letter. You have written several letters to various people of late which I have been privileged to see. Unfortunately you do not, like most of we illiterates, write convincingly of the doctrine of Socialism. It is undoubtedly very clear in your mind, but to know is one thing and to convince others is quite another. Those who know comparatively little of Socialism think you windy, and it is probably doing the opposite of what you intend. For your own benefit I say this, knowing you will have the good sense to profit by it. Learned men have, before now, found it difficult to convince others of what they know to be true. It requires the literary instinct.

My dear friend, I will endeavor to answer your questions as to trades unionism and Socialism to the best of my ability and knowledge, which at the "best" are not very great. Without going into figures I may say we are greatly in advance of America. You ask, naturally, how do I know this? We have in nearly all the great cities and towns of England and Scotland at the present time what is known as municipal Socialism. The various corporations own their own gas, water, trams, some houses, some land, art galleries, and educational colleges, etc. This collectiveism is due to the fact that the workers have elected progressive members to the various councils and have proved that Socialism after many years of test is better than private ownership. This practical demonstration has done more to convince people of the soundness and desirability of national and international Socialism than all the cackle of two thousand years.

Why have these things been done in all these cities and towns? Because the workers desire these things to be owned by themselves for the benefit of all, and have therefore elected the men most likely to carry out their wishes. This proves that the workers here know what they want and get it, and are in a more advanced stage of Socialism than the American workers. I think you will confess that America is behind us in this collecturism, for where you have one town owning monopolies we have ten. Trades unionists are the electors chiefly, and whether it be a Tory or Liberal constituency they elect upon their municipal councils men who believe in municipal trading or collectiveism. Have trade unions in America done anything of this kind and of the same magnitude?

Having taken this first step toward Socialism pure and simple and given it the test of time, being satisfied we are now marshaling our forces for the national campaign. By isolated elections through the death or retirement of members we have sent a sufficient number of labor members to the House of Commons to form a labor group. Already the most influential Tory, scenting the coming overthrow of his party by the awakening Demos, has suggested a zolverein or tariff scheme, the profits of which he will offer as a palliation in the shape of an old pension to the thoroughly aroused Demos. This proposal will, we Socialists think, be the undoing of his party.

The Liberals are making overtures to us also in speeches, etc. So you will see we are becoming a power to be cajoled instead of as formerly despised. You will no doubt be surprised to know some of our old aristocracy countesses, earls, duchesses, etc., are Clarion readers, and help us by addressing meetings, opening exhibitions, guilds, etc., connected with the Socialist movement. We are Socialist to the extreme of communism, and our readers are so clear and convincing that any right minded and justice loving person, whether of "blue" blood or plebian immediately falls into line and joins our fellowship. You say the Englishman who addressed your meeting did not understand Socialism. Well! That doesn't prove us to be unenlightened, does it? If you have read "Britain for the British" you will understand what our Socialism is.

My dear friend, I have not dealt in figures or feelings, but hope I have succeeded in showing how great we Socialists are become (1) by what we have already done and (2) by the trepidation we are causing in the enemy's camp. The trades unions have already sums of money and candidates ready for our first great national electoral campaign so soon as a dissolution takes place. I am not quite so sanguine as to the immediate downfall of capitalism and installation of Socialism as you seem to be. It will take time, my boy, and when I am become an old man and looking back to the beginning and of tracing the progress Socialism has made shall be delighted if I find it in its babyhood. At the present time, as far as we are concerned, true Socialism is in embryo, and we await its birth into palpable existence. Municipal enterprise or national collectiveism is not Socialism. As far as I have been able to gather from your letters, you are awaiting collectiveism and believe it to be the panacea. But collectiveism is not Socialism. The things are merely stepping stones to our ideal. I cannot write more just now. In reference to my old Clarions, I am already disposing of them. I imagine you can obtain them in America, but don't know for certain. Anyway, why not have them sent direct from the Clarion office, 72 Fleet street, London, E. C., subscription 2s. 2d. per quarter, paid in advance.

Now, then, I have finished. Write, telling me how far you think me wrong in my assertions and comparisons of English versus Yankee progress in Socialism. I will see if I have any pamphlets about, and if so will send them on. I am respectfully yours, T. W. H.

Leg-Puller Comes to Grief.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—While the business meeting of our section was in session last night Comrade Smith rushed in with something which he had captured on the market square. On his way to the meeting he was attracted by a crowd of people around some one, who was gesticulating and vociferating mightily; so he stopped to listen, and, lo! he found the person making a pure-and-simple trade union speech.

At the close questions were invited, so Comrade Smith propounded some, and the speaker tumbled. He held on to Smith after the meeting dispersed, and thus we were enabled to form his acquaintance.

After having touched flesh with us all, he began, free gratis, to recount his doughty deeds for the cause of Socialism from the Atlantic to the Pacific; from the Lakes to the Gulf. Oh, he was a free lance, he was, and he talked of his close relationship to such S. L. P. stalwarts as Dave Coates! Colonel Ed Boyer! of the Western Miners; Fred Long! and Mother Jones! and of his being one of the charter members of Section 2, of Omaha, Neb., S. L. P. The eyes of our comrades began to dance in joyful anticipation of some fun, which merriment was further intensified by the statement the Sam Gompers was scared at the very mention of his (the speaker) name. Oh, he was a regular blue streak—a sure enough Kansas twister. In a lull Comrade Downey drily remarked that he looked a born fighter. And then we got after him. Comrade Goodman asked him what he thought of De Leon. "Oh, De Leong," he said, "is the slickest fakir ever came down the pike."

We asked him for his card of membership in the S. L. P., which we knew he never had. Of course, he had misplaced it somehow. I then jumped in and showed up Coates, Boyer, Long, Mother Jones and the other string of fakirs he had mentioned as his associates. Well, what do you think?—the human tornado was not even a summer zephyr. He admitted that they were all freaks and scoundrels, and that he had been mistaken in stating that they were S. L. P. men. To cut it short, he was nothing but a bum labor fakir. He is a printer, by trade, he says, and has been bumming it on the town and no doubt thought that by pretending to be a comrade in the S. L. P. he could bleed us for something; but we wouldn't bleed. And he slid—no doubt, with the additional knowledge that, like the stalwart S. L. P. men everywhere, the Roanoke contingent discovers the malodous fakir as quickly as an old crow scents gunpowder. The fellow's name, as he gave it, is Sam D. Nedrey. It sounds familiar to me, but I could not place it. Some of the comrades elsewhere may. However, we down here know him now. H. D. McTier,

Organizer Section Roanoke, Va.

Roanoke, Va., July 19, 1903.

Concentration in the Drug Business.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The druggist papers have, for several years past made the boast that the retail distribution of drugs could not be syndicated because the manufacturing of pharmaceutical preparations could not be trustified. It will however be an easy matter to do so when the capitalist class is ready. What hinders Acker, Merril & Condit to add drug departments to their stores; they are adding new stores to the older ones already. A. M. & C. means the American Tobacco Company. The American Tobacco Company means John D. What hinders John D. to buy the controlling interest in stock companies like Park, Davis & Co.? He can easily get the balance of power in trade and sweep everything before him. It is the power of the balance in the trade that the middle class jackass does not reckon with. C. C. Crolly.

Pleasantville, N. Y., July 18.

The "Conquering" Kangaroo.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The Kangaroo Social Democratic agitation is generally characterized as inviting disaster. Such disaster, on a small scale, they met here in Peekskill last week. They try to make outsiders believe that they are a power here. "We have an alderman," they boast. That this alderman was elected on the Republican ticket does not matter much to the Kangs. "And we have a street commissioner here," they add. That this street commissioner was appointed by the Democrats does not make any difference, either. They had Democratic and Republican papers boom their candidate, and was glad of it. All this was looked upon as evidence of "strength." Is it any wonder that when a speaker comes to a town where his party is a "power" that he, of course, expects to command that respect that a powerful party ought to command? Not having been built on a solid foundation, depending on bluff and bluster, at the first contact the bubble bursts.

The speaker the other night came in an automobile, like a conqueror, with a large transparency and an American and a red flag on each side. He was met by the chief of police, who, though a vulgar and insignificant fellow, knows well enough that there is nothing behind the show. The chief demanded that the pharaphanelia be taken down, as it frightened horses. The conqueror was taken aback by the impudence of the cop, and wanted to know whether he was Jesus Christ—as if Christ was the only one that a Yidish Kangaroo will take orders from. The cop, being vulgar and impudent, struck the Kangaroo in the face and then put him under arrest. Next day the conqueror was fined $25. Slobodinouski was the lawyer. The power that the Kangs thought they had turned out to be moonshine, and they caved in. The Kangs who came like conquerors left, martyrs to their own stupidity. Chas. Zalot.

Carroll's Good Work.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I visited Southbridge last evening, and, with the assistance of two "Socialist" party men, made several points clear to the working class, who assembled to the number of 250 or more. It was the hottest meeting that I have held during my trip. "Commanche Bill," an "Indian" doctor, held forth in a private lot a short distance away, with a crowd of boys and a pie-eating contest. This, together with my advertisement of our meeting, brought the whole town out.

I started in at 8 o'clock and began to discuss civilization, showing up the capitalist system and why it is that the wage slaves were compelled to buy "Indian" oil to rub on their limbs, as a consequence of the "gentle" manner in which "Brother" Capital treated them. That we did not see "Brother" Capitalist looking for Indian oil. The manner in which this was made clear to the workers was greeted with applause, and incidentally I referred to the spectacle factory (the spectacle factory is the largest industry in the town), poor eyesight, crutches, trusses and all such paraphernalia was proof of our glorius civilization.

The labor "leaders" and their friends, M. A. Hanna and the "Socialist" party, were shown up. Then the proposition to buy the railroads and build rival railroads was gone into, to the delight of the crowd. When the meeting was opened for questioning all that was said was brought out and clinched solid. The first question was: "Is not your party opposed to all trade unions?" This from a Kang.

In answer I showed the shoe was on the other foot. I said: "No. Now, as to you. You do not deny that the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is a labor union according to your conception. You agree also that the Knights of Labor is a trade union. Yet your party went out to fight and furnish scabs to defeat the K. of L. Now, it would be a lie for me to say that your party was opposed to all trade unions. You are in favor of this Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, so much so that you assist in bringing in jail birds and Canadian workers, in violation of the contract labor law. Now the S. L. P. is in favor of the S. T. & L. A., and we call upon the workers to join it, we agitate among them, appeal to their class interest. We don't go to the boss as you do. The boss would not be fool enough, because we do not agree to take the factory at existing wages and guarantee freedom from labor troubles, which means that the worker will make no kick at a reduction, or if the boss should speed up the machines."

At this the audience began to cheer, and one man said: "Now, Marcy, will you shut up?"

"Oh," I said, "Mr. Marcy, formerly of Worcester, once a member of the S. L. P. We tried him and found him wanting."

Then Mr. Marcy said: "It is not true that we advocate buying the railroads. If the people want the truth they must read the literature of the party and not take stock in the lies circulated by their enemies. Is not that true, Mr. Speaker?"

"Precisely so," I answered. "Now, workers, the gentleman tells you I am a liar, telling you false stories about his party—that is what his statements amount to. Father McGrady is one of their leading orators, and in a book called "Socialism and the Labor Problem" he makes those statements. Does Mr. Marcy deny that?"

"Yes, I do!" he shouted. Then pulling the McGrady book from my pocket, I read to support my statement. The workers saw how neat the Kang. had been caught and set up a cheer. Then Marcy came back and said: "Oh, McGrady is an individual." I pointed out the hopping Kang. nature of the argument and their utter dishonesty.

"He tried to bluff you workers, and it might have went if I did not have this book. Now he hops to the position that the party is not responsible. I pointed out that since their party sold and advertised the book, that McGrady's words were their work, that they were in the business of buying stolen goods; that the man who sold a house and took a mortgage would not allow the man who bought it to make the terms; that if we were to give the capitalist bonds, we were recognizing his right to skin the workers.

I could hear all around, "That's right," "They can't talk to that fellow." To which I replied: "Now, workers, don't talk that way, it is not smartness on my part, it is only that I have read their papers, only that we are out to fight the enemies of the working class, and as you see we carry a supply of ammunition, their own books,; here is a copy of Mr. Marcy's paper, 'The Worker'; here is the annual report of their secretary. I will read from that, of their factional fight, of their decrease in membership, of the disintegration in twelve states; yes, Mr. Marcy wanted you to read from their papers. His papers prove that I am not guilty of the charge he made; it proves that the Kang. Socialist is a bluffer and a slanderer." I then closed the meeting, and, picking up the bunch of leaflets all folded, I said: "I am going to pass these out to you workers." Instantly there was such a scramble as I never saw for S. L. P. literature. If possible I will hold another meeting here next week.

W. H. Carroll.

Worcester, Mass., July 22.

The Status of the Paper Strike.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The seventh week of the Holyoke paper makers' strike reminds one very much of these July thunder storms. The atmosphere hangs heavy over our heads, and rumblings and grumblings and an occasional flash makes everybody uneasy. Will it break loose or will it pass over? is a question hard to answer.

To read the daily local papers one would think that the third party in the strike, the "public"—that is, the middle class who directly depend upon the earnings of the wage workers—are all on the verge of bankruptcy, and they want the strike to end speedily. Yet the strikers themselves are firm, and stubbornly hold out. There has been very little scabbing going on, although the bosses have been coaxing them to please come back. Now the bosses threaten to fill up the mills with new hands, and have placed advertisements in many papers. The Linden mill has announced that they have a full complement of hands and are running full speed. This, however, is denied by people who seem to know inside facts. An afternoon local paper states that the scabs are royally treated to goody-goody things, and their cooking is done within the mill to keep them away from the pickets. Every morning at 7 o'clock the streets leading to the mills are lined with strikers, who want to shame the scabs. Policemen are stationed at all the factory doors to watch for any "disorderly" conduct, etc. So far no real violence has been offered, but as the strike drags on good nature gives way to ugly feeling, and no one knows what may happen. We all know what these strikes mean. They are the instinctive revolt against capitalist greed and oppression in the workshop. But the dollar is mightier than the workers' sentiment, and the result is the same every time. As long as labor is blind to its own position under capitalism it will lose in its fight with capital, and not until it sees the light of Socialism and fights for the possession of the political power will things mend for the better. Holyoke labor is getting a good lesson in this fight. Let us hope it will profit by it. Then even a lost battle now will prepare the way for a grand victory in the future. Labor must and will become master of its own destiny.

Holyoke, July 22. R.

The Molders' Label.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The article in the Sunday People, "The Iron Molders," recalled to my mind the label of the I. M. A. This label is a short but very instructive notice in itself, picturing correctly the nature of the organization it represents. It contains the pictures of an employe and the employer clasping hands across a piece of work of the molder, a stove. Above the representatives of capital and labor hangs the balancing scale of Justice, and the capitalist is pointing up to this emblem, his finger touching his side of the scale, as it seems. Now, whenever I looked at this label I could not help but think that if the supporting finger of the capital was removed the scale would show all the weight to be on his (the capitalist's) side, thereby giving away the true state of affairs and proving the worker to be a dupe. A union with such a label is away off.

F. A. Nagler.

Springfield, Mass., July 22.

A Good Suggestion.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—As that blowing about the big vote of the German Socialist Democratic Party on the part of the Kangs continues I'd like to make a suggestion to put a decisive damper on those ridiculous claims. I should suggest a re-publication of the election manifesto of the German S. D. P. and along side of it a re-publication of that letter of Karl Marx's about the "Gothair Programm" in which he says that in the light of that programme Socialism in Germany would hardly be considered "skin deep." You published that letter about four years ago after it had been made public in Germany after Marx's death. It would be an interesting question to the Kangs to ask them whether or not Marx would, in the light of the present manifesto, consider Socialism in Germany advanced so far as to deserve of being classed "skin deep" now.

Don't you think that timely?

Max Lechner.

New York, July 24.

[Our correspondent gives the Kangs credit for too much character when he imagines that any amount of argument will draw arguments from them. They know they are a pack of swindlers, and their whole "argument" consists in making faces like dirty-nosed street boys around corners. All the same our correspondent's suggestion will be acted on, not with the hope of damping the Kang false pretences—nothing can damp the false pretences of dealers in green goods—but for the purpose of conveying historic and sound information to the honest and intelligent masses.—Ed. People.]

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

N. B., CHICAGO, ILL.—It will boot comparatively little if you get disgusted at the bogus "Socialist" party simply on account of their "internal wrangles for pelf and place." The real profit to be derived is to detect the source of these wrangles. You will trace them all, without exception, to the fact that what they call their press is private property. A Socialist party with a privately owned press is so bizarre a contradiction that the thing must kick itself to pieces. It implies hypocrisy and implies bossism. Such a party is a pyramid on its apex. If you learn that, then you have really become disgusted to a purpose.

P. P. R., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Mother Jones' "Army of Babies," is not an army, nor has it children. That sort of demonstration tells only when it is pathetic. For that it must be something above a farce. This "army" can only tend to make the Case of labor look ridiculous and freakish.

I. S. K., NEW YORK—Very likely; these fakirs frequently give themselves out as Socialists, but their Socialism is of the kind that comes and goes.

H. G., SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—1. Shall forward particulars if authenticated ones can be found in time.

2. Cunningham of Erie did not scab it. No S. L. P. man scabs, and if he does he is forthwith expelled. It is only the labor fakirs who scab it on one another and on their own members, and they are kept in membership. Always ask for facts that can be verified.

D. E. F., CINCINNATI, O.—Dupuy de Lome, the Spanish Embassador before the war with Spain, called McKinley a "populachero," a man who caters after the applause of the populace. You remember he was dismissed for that reason, his letter having "fallen into the hands" of Washington officials. It is not unlikely that Comte Cassini, the Russian Embassador, is now calling Roosevelt "populachero" in Russian for meddling, or affecting to meddle with Kishineff. But he will be more careful, and prevent his letters from faring like de Lome's

F. E. M., KANSAS CITY, Mo.—The explanation is easy. These starving bourgeois intellectuals feel alarmed at Socialism. The intellectuals (or perhaps because "intellectuals") they take their Socialism at second hand. The picture of Socialism, thus obtained hagrides their thoughts.

J. H., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—This office does not enjoy the confidence of the Vatican, so we don't know its secrets. What we know are certain facts from which conclusions can be drawn.

The K. of L. was inspired by Socialism when Uriah Stevens got it up. When Powderly succeeded he submitted the constitution, etc., to Cardinal Gibbons. Immediately thereupon the K. of L. was emasculated and went down. This Powderly is the same man who was deposed upon a motion of an S. L. P. man for his appropriating to his salary funds collected for the Homestead and Coeur d'Alene strikers, and who afterwards got a government job—by what influence?—and who then wrote to another government employe to go and pack a Republican caucus in Connecticut with Democratic voters.

E. D., NEW HAVEN, CONN.—None better than the capitalist understood the power of the locomotive engineer. Hence they patted and petted Chief Arthur, and had him pat and pet them while the capitalists were slowly undermining their power. That they have now done to a considerable extent. The locomotive engineers' market is pretty will overstocked by this time. The engineers are poor. Chief Arthur died rich.

A. S., PITTSBURG, PA.—1. In the Socialist Republic there will be, can not be, any "medium of exchange," as the thing is understood to-day. To-day the medium of exchange must be a commodity itself, consequently, it must have intrinsic value. That is money, or its token.

2. In the Socialist Republic a man can get as much out of the joint social store of wealth as he put in. The measure of what he put in is the time, relative to the nature of the work, expended by him.

3. Consequently, if any one wishes a larger income, larger quantities from that store, he will have himself to first put in so much more of his work into that store. There will be nothing to prevent him.

4. All such questions proceed from the assumption of false premises. The false premises assumed are that there will not be a superabundance of wealth. This is utterly false. Four hours' work in the Socialist Republic will produce wealth enough to afford to all a luxurious living.

R. W. S., BALTIMORE, MD.—Get names of firm and committee in full. Let not the grass grow under your feet. With that in hand, the story can be published. The S. L. P. must leave to the so-called "Socialist" alias Social Democratic folks and their congeners the field of statements without specifications so that none can verify them. The S. L. P. gives names, places, time, etc., in short, everything that will enable a sensible and decent man to verify the facts for himself. That's why the S. L. P. is called "vituperative" and "bossy," dontcher know?

L. S. V., ALLEGHENY, PA.—That letter of the English Social Democratic Federation man to his friend out West was good. It was a good bit of self photography of the fly on the wheel characteristic of those gentlemen. The fly on the wheel in Aesop's fable felt very proud about the dust raised by the wagon on which it had perched. It thought IT was raising the dust. So with those gentlemen and that letter-writer. He gauges what his set has done by the trepidation of the British capitalist! Did not the British capitalists trepidate when the great French Revolution broke out? And they did not subsequently Trepidate when the subsequent revolutions broke out on the continent? And did not each of those revolutions on the continent leave their mark on the English statute books in the form of Parlimantary reforms? Just so now. The English capitalist knows that a tidal wave is forming on the continent. He needs his feudal royalty. He knows that that tidal wave is inspired by Socialism, and he also knows that, even should the Socialist wave be dashed like the workingman's wave of the great French Revolution was dashed, the throne at least would certainly be engulfed. He knows also that the result of all continental upheavals has regularly been concessions in England by the ruling class. All that the English capitalist knows. No wonder he trepidates and his heart goes a-pita-patting. As for the Social Democratic Federation tomfoolery, that can only be a source of comfort and of hope to the English capitalist—anything the flies on the wheel may think to the contrary notwithstanding. But the British capitalists will soon feel that their hope was a broken reed. A Socialist Labor No more taking of moneys from Tories or Whigs.

H. W., ALBANY, N. Y.—You will never hear an S. L. P. man talk that way. That's language held by the fellow who has the under hand.

J. B., SULTAN, WASH.—Yes, the cry is that the late Pope was "one of the greatest rulers of Europe." We don't know upon what fact the statement is based. His career was one uninterrupted series of notable failures. He aimed at restoring the temporal power of the Papacy,—that temporal power is to-day farther below the horizon than twenty-five years ago. He aimed at securing admission at Washington to an officially recognized embassador, — he failed. Under his reign Catholic bourgeois radical France has torn up by the roots the clerical associations, and thus taken from his grasp the power of "education." He sought to aid the German Emperor in his struggles against rising bourgeois republicanism,—he failed: just before he died he witnessed the big vote cast in Germany against the Emperor. He sought to fight Socialism,—he failed: under his reign Catholic Belgium, to say nothing of Catholic France, has seen a powerful Socialist movement rise and take the field against clericalism. He has bracketed Anarchists, Socialists and Jews,—and thereby shown that he lacked common information. As to his gathering fifteen millions of private property during his reign, other rulers have done as well if not better, and he simply followed their footsteps when he placed that hoard in English banks for safe keeping. But do him this justice: What else was there for him but to fail. Joshua may or may not have made the sun stand still upon Gibeon, and the moon in the valley of Ajalon. Those days have gone by for good.

"A FRIENDLY INCLINED," HAVERHILL, MASS.—You have nothing to complain about. If you brag about the vote that Carey brings you must stand the odium of Careyism.

"CATHOLIC," BOSTON, MASS.—As far as our information goes the late Leo XIII. was a first-class passenger: that could hardly be said of Jesus.

"S. D. P.," NEW YORK.—Truly, as "simple member" of the S. D. P. and not a member of the Volkszeitung corporation you can "keep tab" on the corporation? it tells you all about it? How old are you? They'll tell you only as far in their affairs as they judge wise. They own your party, and the article recently translated in these columns from the Volkszeitung clearly tells you they don't trust you.

E. S., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—'Tis not that we don't want to advertise the thing. On the contrary, we would like it to be seen by everybody who reads The People; the contrast is strong enought to knock a man down. But there is a limit to what The People will take notice of. The "Socialist Standard" is so silly, visionary, flat, flatulent and even stupid that not even its bad features deserve recognition. It belongs to that category of sinners that Dante met hovering in the suburbs of Hell, and of whom, when he wanted to look at them closer, his great guide said: "Non ragionam do lor ma guarda e passa" (Dont let's bother about them, just glance at them and move on), there being much more valuable sinners further in and down to study. That's the reason.

M. S., BROWNSVILLE, N. Y.—A Socialist cannot be a policeman. However hard it is to get a living, things are not yet so bad as to force a man to place himself at the disposal of capitalism to club workingmen on strike and to guard the stolen goods of the capitalist class.

W. W. C., COLLINSWOOD, ILL.—Comrade Ebert is now on his vacation. When he returns shall ask him for your article and look at it ourselves. Meantime, if you realize you can get up a better one, having O. N. E. Lackall's article as a point of departure for concrete criticism, write it up.

H. N., NEW YORK.—That Tribune article was the quintescence of nonsense. Shall get another copy and read it again. If indeed there be anything in it worth taking up, shall do so. Remember, however that there are lots of people who simply look for a pretext not to co-operate with the Socialist movement.

F. F., MILWAUKEE, WIS.—There are more men in the world than factories to put them in. Why should the capitalist worry?

A. C. McG., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; F. A., LOUISVILLE, KY.; C. P. C., TRENTON, N. J.; A. J., NEW YORK; A. R. C., GRAND JUNCTION, COLO.; S. H. A., LINCOLN, NEB.; J. C. S., MONTREAL, CAN.—Matter received.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—Receipt of matter is acknowledged in this column only when its receipt does not somehow appear from the contents of the DAILY.

FREEDOM OR SLAVERY?

Which Shall It Be, Workinmen or America?

Whenever there is a strike for the recognition of the union, or for the enforcement of some regulation of the union, the employers invariably come out with a statement that they "intend to run their own business and do not propose to be dictated to by workmen," etc., etc. The union officials usually retort that they do not wish to run the business, but they do claim the right to make the shop rules.

This is a very illogical position for the unions to hold. In the first place, they as upholders of the capitalist system, concede the right of the boss to the property of the shop. Once conceding the right of such investiture it follows that they must, to be logical, acknowledge the right of the boss to make such rules as he pleases.

Without the ownership of the shop, i. e., the tool of production, the employee cannot make good his demand that he shall have exclusive say in shop legislation. Without the ownership of his tool of production, the worker must sell himself in the labor market; the same as any other merchandise is sold. The price of all merchandise declines with the increase of the supply; the supply of labor power is increased by machinery, which displaces it, and the worker must sell himself at a continually lowering price. This reduces his condition to that of the slave—he is a wage slave. Accordingly, the economic basis of the capitalist system, which the workingman upholds, is the degradation and enslavement of the worker.

The genuine labor unionism—the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, on the other hand, is clear upon the issue before it. It understands that in order to improve its condition, let along emancipate itself, Labor must acquire possession of the machinery of production now held by the capitalist class. Instead of proclaiming the interests of the worker and the employer as "identical" the S. T. & L. A. recognizes that the capitalist class is its born enemy. The S. T. & L. A. strives to safeguard the intereests of the workers, to the extent that it is possible while the capitalist system lasts, but its mission is to prepare the way for the final rout of capitalism by the Socialist Labor Party.

The S. T. & L. A. points to the fact, that because the working class fail to use their power to vote upon rules that shall govern the whole nation, is the reason they are such abject slaves in the shops.

It is certainly a startling contradiction, the fact, that the working class, the overwhelming majority, having in their hands a political power so potent that by intelligently and unitedly exercising it in their own behalf they could absolutely determine anything they wished, yet doggedly voting to prolong their economic cervitude!

But contradictions cannot go on forever; either the workers must acquire economic freedom equal to their political freedom, or suffer the loss of the suffrage and submit to political as well as industrial slavery.

Unless they are reached by New Trades Unionism, the workers, beaten from strike to strike, under the leadership of the Gomperses and the Mitchells, will slowly sink to such a low level of impotence, mental and physical, as to allow the capitalist class to carry out and enforce whatever plan it sees fit.

The issue is absolute Freedom or absolute Slavery. The S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. stand for the one, all the other forces of society stand for the other.

Workingmen, none but you can say which shall win!

Milwaukee Basket Picnic.

The annual basket picnic of Section Milwaukee, S. L. P., will be held Sunday, Aug. 2, at Schubert's Farm, located two blocks south on the second road across the railroad tracks reached after leaving south end of Mitchell street car line. Placards will be found along the roadsides showing the way, and red flag will be hoisted in a tree of the picnic grounds. Games, songs, amusements, music, etc., have been arranged for and a good time will be in store for all attending. Bring your friends. Everybody welcome. The Committee,

Rud. Babnik, Carl Pietsch.

Workingmen's Mutual Sick and Benevolent Society meets every first and third Wednesday at 501 East Eighty-second street

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 256½ Dundas street, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

Canadian N. E. C.

Regular meeting of N. E. C. of Canada were held on the below date, at headquarters, 256 1-2 Dundar street. Comrades Courtney and Pearce absent; Peace excused.

Communications: From Section Vancouver confirming change of member in N. E. C.; accepted. From Section Toronto, requesting due stamps. From Section Brantford, giving information concerning the movement in Brantford. From late Section Winnipeg stating that under present conditions in that city, caused by the great boom, it was impossible to keep a section in operation. From auditing committee giving their report of the books, and pointing out where improvements in the same could be made. Accepted and laid on table. Decided to secure a sufficient number of copies of report to be sent to all sections. Account from C. A. Weitzel for $1.00 ordered paid. Decided to send 200 leaflets to C. A. V. Kempt of Orillia. Adjournment followed.

London, Ont., July 10.

Texas State Executive Committee, S.L.P.

On July 5, 1903, Section San Antonio, Tex., elected the following comrades to serve on the S. E. C. for the ensuing term: Charles Pollard, Charles Werner, J. V. Kendall, Carl Spahr, a Leitner, Robert Strach and Frank Leitner.

The committee met on July 19, 1903, and elected officers as follows: Frank Leitner, State Organizer and Financial Secretary-Treasurer, and J. V. Kendall, Recording Secretary.

The annual financial report showed for the period from July 1, 1902, to June 30, 1903:

Receipts: By balance, July 1, 1902, $24.74; by Section San Antonio, dues, $19.08; by Houston, dues, $12; by Willard, dues, $11.40; by members-at-large, dues, $9.60; by Carl Schmidt, Loha, Campaign Funds, $5. Total, $81.82.

Expenditures: To N. E. C., dues, $31.50; to Weekly People, $4.50; to printing ballots for rural districts, $5; to organization supplies, 40c.; to office supplies, 75c.; to Section San Antonio, contribution to Campaign Fund, $5; to postage and sundries, $6.57; to balance, July 1, 1903. Total, $81.82.

Frank Leitner, Fin. Sec.-Treas.
Charles Werner,
Robert Strach,
Auditors.

Section Los Angeles' Officers.

Section Los Angeles County, S. L. P., elected the following officers and committees at the regular meeting held July 1: Organizer, H. Norman; Financial Secretary, L. C. Haller; Treasurer, A. Weinberg; Recording Secretary, J. C. Hurley; Literary Agent, A. DeMuth; Agent for Party Press, L. C. Haller; Agitation Committee, Geo. Anderson, H. Norman, J. C. Hurley; Auditing Committee, A. DeMuth, J. C. Hurley, A. E. Norman; Grievance Committee, Geo. Edwards, H. Norman, J. C. Hurley; Hall and Headquarters Committee, G. Aisenpreis, J. C. Hurley, L. C. Haller; Press Committee, A. Weinberg, H. Norman.

H. Norman, Organizer.

Section Mesa County, Colo.

At our last regular meeting the following officers were elected to serve for one year: Organizer, S. B. Hutchinson; Secretary, R. H. Skeggs; Financial Secretary, J. U. Billings; Literary Agent, J. L. Howland.

S. B. Hutchinson, Organizer.

Comrades of Ohio.

The State Committee wishes to notify sections and members-at-large that petition lists have been mailed to each one. We need 8,500 signatures to enable our ticket to appear upon the ballot next fall. All lists must be in the hands of the undersigned by Sept. 1. Get to work and each do what he can to gather the requisite number.

The Daily People pledge and per Washington plan is lagging. Hustle, comrades, and fulfil your pledge.

The State Committee will send John Kuhn to Canton on Aug. 8 and Dinger, Aug. 22; Akron, Aug. 1, Dinger and Reiman; Aug. 15, Kircher and Reiman; Aug. 29, Dinger and Reiman. Let the comrades and sympathizers in Canton and Akron get a move on themselves and wake up and fight the good fight for the emancipation of our class. Take advantage of this.

Ohio State Ex Com.,
James Matthews, Sec.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

S. T. & L. A. NEWS

District Alliance No. 4, S. T. & L. A.

The regular meeting of District Alliance No. 4 was held Sunday, July 5, at the headquarters of Local Alliance No. 397 (Egg Candlers), 105 Prince street, Newark, N. J. All officers present.

A. Menda elected chairman. Delegates were present from L. A.'s Nos. 259, 257, and 379. Delegates absent from L. A. No. 400 and the S. L. P. Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

Credentials were received from the State Committee of New Jersey, S. L. P., certifying the election of the following delegates to D. A. No. 4: August Edelman, Frank Zuer and August Silberberg. Credentials received and delegates accepted.

Organizer Aizzona made his report on tickets sold for the late festival of D. A. No. 49, New York. Comrade Fred May, financial secretary and treasurer, made a financial report for the past six months, which showed that the district was increasing in membership and that a good balance was now on hand.

Reports of locals: L. A. No. 257 held meeting among the Standard Oil workers in Bayonne, and there is a good chance of organizing them, several names having been procured for organization; other meetings are to be held in Bayonne. L. A. No. 259 reported progress. L. A. No. 397 reported on trade conditions and demands that they had presented to the employers; action on same was held over until new business. L. A. No. 400 and S. L. P., no report.

New business: Motion made and seconded that the election of officers be laid over until next meeting and that all delegates be notified to attend said meeting, to be held at the headquarters of the S. L. P. in Hoboken, Sunday, August 2, 3 p. m.; carried. Motion made and carried that L. A. No. 397 elect a committee which shall have the power to control the egg candlers in their shops. Motion made and carried that D. A. endorse the demands of L. A. No. 397 for $2.50 per day or $15 per week and a Saturday half-holiday; resolved that the D. A. elect a committee to take charge of the matter and aid in procuring the demands made by L. A. No. 397; committee, A. Menda and Francis Green.

After further discussion on the welfare of the movement, meeting adjourned.

N. Ehrenkranz, Rec. Secy.

Newark, Attention.

Two open-air mass meeting, one at the corner of Ferry and McWhorter streets and one at the corner of Bloomfield and Fifth avenues, Newark, N. J., will be held Monday evening, August 3, at 8 o'colck. August Gilhaus, John J. Kinneally and Samuel French, of New York City, and Frank A. Bohn, of Michigan, will address the meetings on "Why Strikes Are Lost." At these meetings the principles of new trades unionism will be explained and the necessity for such an organization in the industrial field set forth. Come and hear why you work long hours and receive low wages. Pass the word along the line; come and bring your friends. By order of

Organization Committee,
District Alliance No. 4, S. T. & L. A.

Forest City Alliance, L. A. No. 342, Cleveland, O.

Above named local will meet Wednesday, August 5, at 8 p. m., at the Volksfreund office, 193 Champlain street, third floor. All members, without exception, should make it their duty to be present, as some important business has to be transacted. Rich. Koeppel, Rec. Sec.

District Alliance No. 4. S. T. & L. A.

Regular meeting of above named alliance will be held at S. L. P. headquarters, 163 Fourth street, corner Garden, Hoboken, on Sunday, August 2. All delegates take notice.

Ernest Aiazzone, Organizer.

L. A. 342, S. T. & L. A., Cleveland, Ohio.

Regular meeting of Local 342, S. T. & L. A. will be held on Wednesday, August 5, at 8 p. m. at Volksfreund office. All members are requested to be present.

The Organizer.

Section Lynn, Mass., Attention.

An important meeting will be held Sunday, August 2, at 11 a. m., of Section Lynn. Amendment to the constitution proposed by Section Everett to be debated and voted on. Also other important business. All members are requested to attend. Meeting will be called to order on time.

R. Murphy, Organizer.

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This book, which was widely noticed in France, is a scholarly and, at the same time, an attractive presentation of the status of Israel among nations, from the beginning of the Christian era down to our own days. The author does not allow the bias of one attached by blood to the persecuted race to creep into his treatment of the subject, which he considers throughout as a problem in sociology.
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BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

G. L. Bryce, agent for the party press in London, Ont., writes as follows: "Enclosed find money order for seven subscribers to Monthly People and four to Weekly People, nearly all of which were gathered at open-air meetings on Market Square on July 18, held by Section London. At last regular meeting of the Section is was decided to make a house-to-house canvass distributing literature and getting subscribers for the People; so you may expect to hear from us along the line of subscribers after this." These comrades have shown that they do not only resolve, but put their resolutions into practice. Sections that passed good resolutions some time ago will please take notice.

Charles Pierson's visit to Elgin, Ill., was very successful. Fifty-five subscribers to The Monthly People, five to The Weekly People and one to the German organ, The Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung, were secured. He writes that he was barred from almost every factory in the city. After leaving Elgin he went to Chicago, where he begins his five weeks' work for the party press and hopes to roll up a good list of subscribers.

Comrade Berdan, of Paterson, N. J., continues his good work in that city. Seven Weekly subscriptions were secured by him during the past week; also eight the previous week that were not acknowledged in last week's paper.

Others who have sent in five or more subscribers are as follows: Robert Jackson, Vancouver, B. C., 7 Weeklies; A. H. Lyzell, New Britain, Conn., 4 Monthlies and 3 Weeklies; John Farrell, Lowell, Mass., 10 Monthlies, 1 Weekly; Reinstein & Hauk, Buffalo, N. Y., 6 Weeklies, 4 Monthlies; J. Nagle, Chicago, 5 Monthlies; A. Quarnstrom, Somerville, Mass., 5 Monthlies, 1 Weekly; Ben Hilbert Jr., Hamilton, O., 5 Weeklies; R. W. Stevens, Baltimore, Md., 5 Monthlies; J. C. Northrop, Providence, R. I., 5 Monthlies, 1 Weekly; Wm. J. Oberding, Victor, Colo, 5 Weeklies, 1 Monthly; August Schroeder, Denver, Colo., 5 Weeklies, 6 Monthlies; F. Kissel, Omaha, Neb., 6 Weeklies, 1 Monthly; J. M. C. Jensen, Seattle, Wash., 21 Monthlies; total, 150 Weeklies, 167 Monthlies.

Orders for Bundles of The Weekly People containing Trade Articles are beginning to come in. Section Troy, N. Y., orders 500 copies of this week's issue, containing the article on iron molders. As there are a great many iron molders in Troy, the distribution of these papers will do much to get the blinkers from their eyes and show them the fallacies of pure and simpledom. Joseph Spalti, of St. Louis, Mo., orders 50 copies; George Bryce, of London, Ont., 100 copies, and Charles F. Canty, of Salem, Mass., 25 copies of the same issue.

A telegrapher in Pittsburg, Pa., orders 200 copies of the issue containing articles on Telegraphers, and pays for 300 more to be sent to separate addresses all over the country. Comrade Trainor, of Syracuse, N. Y., takes 100 copies of the Sunday issue of July 12, containing the article on Building Trades.

We cannot supply any back numbers of The Weekly People. In future bundles should be ordered a week or ten days ahead, so that enough copies may be printed.

Fire Damage Fund of German Party Organ.

Previously acknowledged, $601.31.

W. O. Purvis, Milwaukee, $1; G. Kinder, Newport News, 50c; Branch I., Brewers' Union No. 17, Sandusky, O., $5; John Lindgren, Brooklyn, N. Y., $1 Per August Gleiforst, Brooklyn, N. Y., J. Engelfried, 25c; per E. Sherman, Rockville, Conn., Wm. Schmidt, $1; Oscar Freer, Columbus, O., $1; Albert Schmitz, Louisville, Ky., 25c; Hugo Lange, Louisville, Ky., 25c; Emil Kurress, Louisville, Ky., 50c; G. Renner, Jacksonville, Ill., $1.

Per M. H. Tiedemann, Holyoke, Mass., on List No. 50—M. H. Tiedemann, $1; H. Kuhn, 50c; Albert Klee, 25c; August Vogt, 25c; Herman Gerhardt, 50c; M. K. Tiedemann, 25c; Emil Jacob, 25c; August Mann, 50c; Bruno Leidboldt, 50c; total, $4.

Per John Kracsun, Collinsburg—Andy Coschik, 50c; John Kracsun, 50c; Jacob Ruf, 50c; Karl Glaeser, 50c; George Wagner, 25c; Joseph Migics, 25c; Michael Schneider, 50c; total, $3.

Twentieth Assembly District, New York, $1.25; E. Moonelis, 25c; W. Danielsen, 25c; total, $1.75.

Per Fr. Erber, Cleveland, O., on List No. 2—A. Pyelick, 50c; Chas. Meditz, 25c; John Erben, $2; Fred Langin, $1; Jacob Sporer, $1.25; John Gunselman, $1; John Stumpl, 50c; Ed Haller, 25c; A. Menke, $3; L. Rosetta, 25c; John Baur, 25c; Carl Wolf Jr., 25c; Chris. Hinske, 50c; total, $11.

Per Noghe, on List No. 33—John Bretz, $1; Michael Sziebold, $1; total, $2.

Per Jetschmen, on List No. 34—F Krasparek, 25c; B. Schnepp, 25c; A. Lutz, 25c; F. Tupy, 50c; E. Mayer, 25c; Bela Henyei, 25c; total, $1.75.

Per Schmidt, Sandusky—Raseweis, $1; W. Mayer, 50c; R. N., 25c; G. Schwager, 25c; Wunderfitz, $2; W. L., 50c; H. Wobser, 50c; total, $5.

Per F. H. Beier, Sheboygan, Wis.—Karl Latisch, 50c; Ernst Wolter, 50c total, $1.

Per Herman Richter, Detroit, Mich.—Peter Kilburg, 50c; S. J. le Brun, $1; E. J. Smith, $1; Karl Baetz, 50c; John Stettler, $1; John Kues, $1; total, $5.

Per Louis Fredich, Albany, N. Y.—J. Keller, 50c; Henry Ott, 25c; Albert Geier, 25c; K. Schang, 25c; George Hunert, 25c; H. Seegler, 10c; J. Bossert, 25c; W. Roeder, 25c; M. Stoffels, 30c; J. Pfitzer, 20c; K. Mertz, 25c; W. Gloeckner, 25c; C. L. Schmidt, New York City, 25c; L. Freedrich, New York City, 25c; P. Kemmer, 25c; C. Pommer, 25c; B. G. Ludwig, 25c; B. Ruprecht, 25c; J. Brai, 10c; H. Walter, 25c; C. Hyer, 25c; A. Fix, 25c; C. Zimmermann, 15c; L. Kinn, 35c; B. A. Geisler, 25c; W. Hammer, 25c; M. Reisner, 50c; K. Keerner, 25c; J. Raiser, 25c; W. Frobeniger, 25c; K. Herberger, 15c; A. Zollinger, 25c; F. Betzwieser, 15c; W. Kalin, 25c; F. Schumacher, 20c; R. Riesner, 25c; G. G. Heller, 25c; J. Schmitt, 25c; J. Schmid, 25c; J. Schmidt, 25c; B. Fischer, 25c; J. Spesh, 25c; E. Hafner, 25c; J. Humler, 25c; J. Hart, 25c; E. Bloch, 15c; C. Klein, 25c; H. Fehr, 10c; J. Wieshmann, 25c; A. Meier, 25c; G. Zmerling, 25c; F. Esser, 25c; H. Karman, 25c; F. Lehmann, 25c; O. Enderle, 20c; E. Roeder, 25c; F. Sarbe, 25c; A. J. Janz, 25c; D. Busch, 20c; B. Noof, 10c; J. Panger, 25c; C. Schmitt, 50c; P. Hart, 25c; G. Brodbeck, 25c; J. J. Hendrick, 20c; J. Stoltinger, 20c; D. H. Miller, 25c; L. Zimmerman, 20c; J. Poesel, 10c; P. Hart, 25c; M. Hoelle, $1; H. Westpfahl, 25c; L. Friedrich, 50c; total, $18.55.

Comrades, do all you can for this fund. Send money direct to

Socialistische Arb. Zeitung,
193 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

Colorado State Agitation Fund.

The following contributions to the State Agitation Fund of the S. L. P. of Colorado have been received:

Previously acknowledged, $90.50; Robt. Holzsweig, Denver, $5; Carl Demms, Denver, $2.50; L. Rasmussen, Denver, 50c; Wm. Reuttenbaugh, Denver, $1; R. P. Reimann, Denver, $5; A. Ohman, Denver, $1; Chas. H. Chase, Denver, $5; A. G. Allen, Salt Lake City, $1; H. J. Brimble, Florence, Colo., $2; Nels Andersen, Gladstone, Colo., $5; J. M. Nolan, Bald Mountain, $2; W. J. G., Colorado Springs, $10; E. M. Dawes, Montrose, $5; total, $135.50.

Those sections and comrades who three months ago pledged certain contributions, and who have only made their first payments, must realize that this committee engaged Comrade Veal for the entire season, with the expectation that these funds were not merely to be pledged, but paid, and that the agreement with the State Organirer on our part was to be fulfilled.

Comrade Veal has done good, effective work ever since he has been with us, except the two weeks of his sentence to work for the capitalist government at Colorado Springs. He is now in Teller County.

Your pledges were made with a full understanding of what depended upon their being kept. You must live up to your word. Fraternally,

State Executive Committee.
Chas. H. Chase, State Secy.
Headquarters, 15 Good Block, Sixteenth and Larimer streets.

VALUABLE

(Continued from Page 1.)

its origin, tactics on the political field, etc., and used extracts from its own party press to prove our contentions.

Catrell denied none of our charges, excusing much that we charged against his party as being the acts of individuals and local branches, for which the national organization should not be held responsible.

He then launched forth into a vicious attack on De Leon in true Kangaroo styles, ridiculing the S. T. & L. A. as being De Leon's pet scheme to disgust trades unionists with Socialism. He used printed documents, published by our enemies, to show the disintegration of both the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. (the total membership of the latter he placed at about 300), and quoted from several lampoons and the "logical centrists'" correspondence as well. He declared the S. L. P. to be unscientific, in that it worked along the line of greatest resistance, while his party operated in the reverse direction.

In our reply we clearly demonstrated how the "Socialist Party" DID work along the line of least resistance. We quoted from "The Difference," as published in The People. Catrell had been boasting of his party's growing strength in the A. F. of L. convention and its prowess against the fakirs. Then we used with good effect the A. F. of L. Proceedings, from which we have quoted above. We also twitted him about his party having voted in national committee to strike out a section of its anti-fusion resolution which declares that the movement has reached a stage when fusion with "reform" and "radical" parties is unnecessary. We asked him if the "Socialist Party" were unwilling for such an admission of its fusions in the past to remain in its declaration of principles, or if the cutting out of this section meant that his party still saw the necessity of fusion, and so would, in future, ply its contemptible old trade of dickering and dealing with capitalist parties. (Since our debate the national committee of the Socialist Party has ordered the aforesaid section to be expunged from 30,000 platforms already printed. What does this mean?)

Catrell was badly mixed in attempting to answer our question. He could give no satisfactory reason. In closing the debate, at a loss as to how to defend his party's tactics, he worked himself into a passion about the introductory paragraphs of the S. L. P. platform, rehashing the argument of Simpson in the S. L. P. national convention of 1900. Of course, this fell very flat on the audience. Under the circumstances, with the facts all against him, Catrell, who is really a good speaker, did as well as any one could—he begged the whole question, depending upon oratory and the dragging in of extraneous matter.

O Kangaroo! O Kangaroo!
The S. L. P. is watching you!

Alex. B. McCulloch.

NOTES FROM D. A. No. 19, S. T. & L. A

Tobin and his scabby Boot and Shoe Workers' Union are still continuing to lose their hold on the shoe workers of Haverhill and Lynn. The shoe workers of these cities have refused to pay tribute in the form of dues to this infamous organization, and have continued to wage unceasing warfare against it.

Harney Bros., the Ford and Nicholl factories, in Lynn, together with several factories in Haverhill, have been obliged to throw out their "union stamp," as Tobin was unable to furnish enough scabs to the shoe manufacturers to take the places of the men and women who had the courage to rebel against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. The Walton & Logan factory, in Lynn, and the H. E. Lewis factory, in Haverhill, have followed the action of the other manufacturers and have thrown out the "union stamp" and declared their shops "free."

Thus is John F. Tobin's statement, made at the commencement of the trouble, that this strike is "nothing but a tempest in a teapot," verified once more.

* * *

An appeal for funds has been issued by District Alliance No. 19 for the purpose of carrying on an aggressive campaign against the pure and simple unions and to endeavor to organize the wage workers into the only bona fide, economic, political organization of labor—the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

A tour is being arranged for Comrade Thomas J. Powers, of Providence, R. I., who will address mass meetings of workers in Lowell, Lawrence and other cities. To make the agitation and organization tour of Comrade Powers a successful one funds are necessary. It is, therefore hoped that the comrades will contribute generously.

* * *

Carpenters' Union No. 1041 has withdrawn its delegates from the Lynn Central Labor Union and refuses to have anything further to do with that august body. They gave as the reason for the withdrawal of their delegates the attitude of the Central Labor Union in the strike of the Lynn shoe workers against the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. This union recently adopted a set of resolutions denouncing Tobinism and endorsing the position of the strikers.

There are two carpenters' unions, in Lynn, one of which is known as Union No. 688 and the other as Union No. 1041. Until a year ago Union No. 1041 was an independent body, and refused to be connected with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. For several years this union has successfully fought every attempt to force it into the Brotherhood. It was finally forced into that organization through the action of the Central Labor Union at the instigation of Union No. 688, which threatened to declare a strike in the building trades against the independent union. The independents refused to become members of No. 688, and a charter was granted to them as a separate union.

Officials of the Central Labor Union have declared that No. 1041 will be forced to pay tribute to that body in spite of itself. The outcome of the struggle is being watched with interest.

* * *

Mixed Alliance, L. A. No. 267, of Lynn, have elected Comrades Michael Tracy, John W. Ryan and Francis A. Walsh as a committee to secure funds for the agitation and organization fund of District Alliance No. 19. The comrades of L. A. No. 267 are responding to the call generously, and it is hoped that the members of other locals will do the same.

* * *

The credit for the favorable state of affairs in the shoe strike is due, beyond the shadow of a doubt, to the women strikers. They have resisted all efforts to "arbitrate the difference between the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and the strikers." The women stitchers have insisted upon the unconditional surrender of the B. & S. W. U.

* * *

Weavers' Alliance, L. A. No. 373, of Lawrence, is very active. They are initiating new members at almost every meeting. They intend to do their utmost to make the meetings arranged for Comrade Powers in Lowell and Lawrence successful. Open-air agitation meetings are being held every Saturday evening, which are well attended.

* * *

Agitation meetings are held in Union Square every Tuesday evening by L. A. No. 267, of Lynn, and are attended by large crowds of workers. Much literature is being sold at these meetings. This local intends to hold meetings hereafter at the corner of Liberty and Market streets every Saturday evening. L. A. No. 267 is also initiating new members

* * *

All things considered, the prospects for a good, healthy and active alliance movement in this vicinity are bright. The comrades of D. A. No. 19 have come to the conclusion that something besides passing resolutions must be done to destroy pure and simpledom and to build up the alliance.

REMEMBER "MOZLE" CIGARETTES

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The Soul of Man under Socialism. By Oscar Wilde.
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Physics and Politics. An application of the principles of Natural Science to Political Society. By Walter Bagehot.
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GENERAL VOTE

On the Proposition of Section Everett, Mass., to Amend the Party Constitution.

New York, July 6, 1903.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party.

Greeting:—The time set for amendments to the proposition of Section Everett, Mass., having expired, the said proposition is herewith submitted to a general vote and the Sections of the S. L. P. are called upon to have their members take such vote before September 12, 1903, on which date the reports must be in the hands of the undersigned.

No amendments have been sent in, hence the original proposition is the only thing to be voted on. For the reports of the vote, blanks will accompany this call containing the questions to be voted on.

Secretaries of State Committees will convey the call and the voting blanks to their respective Sections and members-at-large.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.,

HENRY KUHN,
National Secretary,
2-6 New Reade street,
New York City.

Preamble and Proposition of Section Everett, Mass., seconded by Sections Minneapolis, Minn.; Essex County, N. J.; Patton, Pa.; Somerville, Mass.; Albany County, N. Y., and Lincoln, Neb.

Realizing that, in order to bring about the emancipation of the wage-working class, the Socialist Labor Party must rest its principles and tactics on a scientific and unshakable foundation, and, having this point in view, Section Everett lays before you the following facts and asks you to give them your earnest consideration. The class-conscious members of the wage-working class have found by bitter experience, as well as observation, that, on the economic field, their chances against those of the capitalist class in the form of lockouts, strikes, boycotts and blacklisting are nil. We conclude from this, their weapons being useless, trade unions themselves are useless. Therefore, it is a waste of time to attempt to check the development of capitalism. The purpose of trade unions to stay capitalist development, places them in the same category with reform movements. Therefore, in order to bring this matter to a referendum vote of the party, in accordance with Art. V., Sec. 7, part h, of the National Constitution, we ask your indorsement of the following:

"Whereas, An alliance with a reform organization manifestly ignores the revolutionary principles of the Socialist Labor Party, resulting in a loss of prestige and inevitably leading to the downfall of the party; and,

"Whereas, Recent reports from this and other countries have shown the fallacy of alliances with trade unions;

"We therefore call upon you to indorse the following proposition to amend the constitution:

"That part K, of Sec. 7, Art. 5, and also Sec. 6, of Art. 7, be stricken out and the following section be inserted under article 2:

"There shall be no alliance between the Socialist Labor Party and the S. T. & L. A., or any other economic organization.

"Section Everett, S. L. P.,
"Louis H. Englehardt, Organizer, 141 Broadway, Everett, Mass."

QUESTIONS.

1. Shall Article 5, Section 7, part k, be stricken out?

(The said part k orders the N. E. C. to call for nominations for delegates to represent the S. L. P. at the National Conventions of the S. T. & L. A.)

2. Shall Article 7, Section 6, be stricken out?

(Said Article 7, Section 6, provides that the National organization of the S. T. & L. A. may be represented in the National Convention of the S. L. P. by three fraternal delegates having the qualifications of regular Party delegates.)

3. Shall there be added to Article 2 a Section (Section 21) to read: "There shall be no alliance between the Socialist Labor Party and the S. T. & L. A., or any other economic organization?"

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